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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

1948

VOLUME XXXVII, NO. 9

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The League's Business

Practical Citizenship Conference Keynote

PRACTICAL CITIZENSHIP will be the keynote of the League's 1948 National Conference on Government to be held in Boston, November 22, 23 and 24. The program is based on suggestions and requests from people engaged in crucial civic tasks and battles.

Each topic will be dealt with by persons who have shown they have answers helpful to others facing concrete problems. Here are some of the civic problems of 1948-49 on which the Conference will throw light:

1. **Political Slum Clearance**—to borrow a phrase from League President Charles Edison. A new drive has started on some of the last outposts of old style political bossism. The Conference will get first-hand reports on recent victories and plans for future victories over the boss system, the shame of American cities.

2. **The Council-Manager Plan**—both as spearhead of municipal reform and as the most efficient tool of local democracy. At the present rate of adoptions the plan will become in the next decade the standard system of local government in cities and towns of all sizes. New England is one of the most active laboratories for the practical demonstration of the council-manager plan. The Conference will make full use of that laboratory.

3. **How About Our Metropolitan Communities**—and the problems created by many governments working in the same area? Greater Boston symbolizes this problem which affects directly a majority of Americans. The Conference will take a close look at the latest methods for enabling all the citizens and all the governments in one area to eliminate conflict and work together.

4. **What Should a State Expect from Its Constitution?** The 1948 edition of the *Model State Constitution* will be presented and leading authorities will come to grips with the question "What Is a State Constitution For?" More and more states are moving toward constitutional revision, partly because drastic reorganizing is needed to prevent still more power from flowing to Washington.

5. **Education for Practical Citizenship.** Educators are at last discovering that the schools have not been teaching democracy effectively. The Conference will hear reports on steps now being taken to correct this tragic error. At the adult level the Conference will, for example, investigate with the cooperation of the National Association of Civic Secretaries (which holds its own annual meeting at the Statler Hotel, Boston, November 21 and 22) methods of establishing and maintaining virile, nonpartisan local citizen organizations.

6. **Financial Support for Local Democracy.** The Conference will discuss how self-reliant state and local governments can be financed in an inflationary period.

7. **Proportional Representation.** Emphasis will be on methods of educating voters on the use and advantages of P. R. (see page 512).

Scores of practical problems will be dealt with, such as the future of county government, local home rule, citizen action for effective city and regional planning, the conduct of a civic campaign for the council-manager plan or other objective, etc.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November number of the **NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW** and in the preliminary program. For reservations write as soon as possible to the Hotel Statler, Boston, being sure to say you are attending the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

(Continued on page 520)

Revolt in Philadelphia

PARTY responsibility and "un-American" are terms which spoils politicians are fond of using as lib and noncommittal replies to people who suggest it would be a good thing to eliminate partisanship from municipal affairs, as the majority of cities have tried to do.

Party responsibility is what they've got. Un-American is what anyone is who gets tired of their ways.

There are few cities, certainly no big ones, in which one political organization has had the responsibility so clearly and completely as in Philadelphia. Neither independent citizens nor the opposing party has had much chance for years.

So there was no way for the party to duck responsibility when, under pressures described in an article in this issue and other pressures not now mentionable, top citizens and experts, working as the Committee of Fifteen, started several months ago to unearth disgraceful scandal in the government. The disclosures are the kind that can't be dismissed as "political talk" as were the charges of the opposition candidate for mayor last year.

Four months ago, in the face of these revelations, the city chairman of the dominant party frankly admitted "flagrant and scandalous conditions." They seemed to come as a surprise to him which, obviously, they did not to the intelligent, informed average citizen. He de-laimed that it was the organization's responsibility to clean things up.

As the months went by, the Committee of Seventy, one of the leading civic organizations working closely with the Committee of Fifteen, lost patience and let fly with a charge that "only one unnecessary employee (drone) has actually been fired. . . ." In one department "seven men were dismissed and nine employed. The work day and work week is not being enforced; an experienced person has not been appointed to reorganize supplies and purchases; only a small number of over-age persons have been retired or pensioned since it is difficult for the administration to decide whether a fireman or policeman can perform active duty at the age of 65, 70 or 75."

The conclusion seems clear that here, as usual, party responsibility isn't taken to mean responsibility to serve the general public interest but responsibility to maintain a political monopoly and to try to sidestep public demand if it is against the party's selfish interests. Citizens are supposed to forget this sort of unpleasantness soon. Too often they do.

Few now remember that it was the same machine which in 1939 staged one of the most amazing "public be damned" acts on record. A modern charter had been drafted and a Gallup poll showed the voters would adopt it three to one. But, with home rule lacking, the state legislature had to give the city permission to vote on it. The charter bill was buried in committee until the final day when, with great hilari-

ty, a mock funeral service was held over a copy of the bill.

The people forgot that, so why shouldn't they forget the loading of payrolls with incompetent drones, the continued refusal to use modern, labor-saving office equipment because "machines don't vote," the theft of public funds, the failure through inefficiency or favoritism to collect large sums of taxes, and the like?

But this time it is different. The enlightened civic leadership of Philadelphia is on the warpath with an unaccustomed glint in its eye and a determined set to its jaw. It is bringing more facts and figures against political thieves out into the open than anyone has ever seen there.

A rebirth of freedom is due Philadelphia—freedom from plundering political dictatorship.

A Good Attitude

EVERY so often someone approaches public office in a high minded, modest manner that is heart warming. A lot of less articulate candidates may feel the same way about things but may not be as practiced as Dr. Herbert C. F. Bell, professor emeritus of Wesleyan University, in expressing it.

Dr. Bell, already a member of the city council, was nominated recently by his party as a candidate for mayor of Middletown, Connecticut. After saying he never expected the honor and never tried in any way for it, he made a speech from which the following few sentences are taken:

"I cannot tell you how proud and grateful I am that a group of citizens thinks I am fit to be the mayor of Middletown. I shall promise just

one thing. If you choose to put me in office, I shall do my level best to be your faithful servant, working side by side with the fine group of city officials and of councilmen to make Middletown more than ever the envy of other cities in this and other states.

"You all know that the city administration is a good deal like a thrifty housewife. She would like to have a new refrigerator or a washing machine, perhaps a new porch on the house or more ground for the children to play in. But she has only so much to go on. She cannot keep nagging at the man who pays the bills to give her more money when it will run him seriously in debt. Especially, at a time when prices are going up, she must buy only what the family can afford."

Corrupt But Not Contented

Philadelphia's Committee of Fifteen, unearthing scandals, fights to place city-county on efficient, honest basis.

By JEWELL CASS PHILLIPS*

FOURTY-FIVE years ago, in an article published in *McClure's Magazine*, Lincoln Steffens characterized Philadelphia as the city "corrupt and contented." This, indeed, has proved to be a "title which stuck." There is mounting evidence, however, as the year 1948 draws to close, that this captious reference is at long last only a half truth. Corruption and inefficiency have been exposed this year with ruthless regularity.

Civic leaders, certain powerful and respected organizations, and an increasing number of plain citizens are determined to sweep out incompetent officials and employees, to prosecute public officers who are guilty of high crimes or misdemeanors, and to fight with all the resources at their command for drastic changes in the city-county charter, state laws and state constitution relating to the city-county government. It is difficult to determine what force or events have contributed most to the recent exposure of corruption and inefficiency in important depart-

ments of Philadelphia's city-county government. Some perhaps would insist that it is the culmination of the perennial surveillance of well known civic and research agencies, such as the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, the Pennsylvania Economy League, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and others. The newspapers,¹ which have taken the political leaders and city-county officials to task for their mismanagement of municipal affairs, deserve considerable credit for the recent purge and the determined drive for good government. Many impartial observers, however, suggest that the one man who has contributed most to the present political upheaval in the "City of Brotherly Love" is Richardson Dilworth, unsuccessful candidate for mayor on the Democratic ticket in 1947.

The mayoralty campaign of 1947 was one of the most dramatic in Philadelphia's recent history. Mr. Dilworth began his campaign early in the autumn of 1947 with a street corner appeal to a few hundred voters. As the campaign progressed, the street corner continued to be the forum but the crowds grew to enormous proportions. The electorate

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¹All the leading newspapers in Philadelphia are now Republican, and, since the Republican party has overwhelming superiority within the city, newspaper attacks on city officials and political leaders have had no foundation in partisan politics.

was treated to the rare spectacle of an able and courageous candidate presenting sensational charges of corruption and inefficiency against specific officials, departments and agencies without once being successfully challenged in the courts. One suit for slander was filed against Dilworth but it was dropped before it came to trial.

While Richardson Dilworth was the Democratic candidate for mayor, he openly denounced a number of Democratic ward leaders and he waged his campaign with only half-hearted support from the Democratic organization. The fact that Dilworth was able to poll 44 per cent of the total vote for mayor as the representative of a badly shaken Democratic organization in a normally strong Republican city is a testimonial to his outstanding qualities of leadership and his personal integrity and ability. The 1948 grand jury investigations and the illuminating disclosures of the Committee of Fifteen have furnished incontrovertible proof that a number of the Dilworth charges were something more than campaign oratory.

Committee of Fifteen

Without detracting from Mr. Dilworth's contributions, the fine publicity efforts of the Philadelphia newspapers, and the fruitful and persistent labors of the various civic organizations, it is readily conceded that the one agency which deserves greatest credit for the present intensive drive against corrupt, inefficient and ramshackle city-county government in Philadelphia is the Committee of Fifteen.

A councilmanic resolution of September 4, 1947, empowered the mayor and the president of the council to appoint a special committee of fifteen members to study city-county finances and to suggest ways and means which could be employed to meet greatly increased budgetary requests for 1948. Five of the fifteen members were to be councilmen, the other ten to consist of "representatives of labor, industry, commerce, finance, civic and business organizations."

The able chairman of the committee, Arthur W. Binns, is a prominent Philadelphia real estate man, a Quaker and a member of the dominant (Republican) party. Other able men were chosen to serve on the committee and they have taken their work seriously.

The committee came into being as the result of a budgetary crisis in December 1947. Under the charter the city council must adopt a budget and fix a general property tax rate on or before December 15 of each year. The council ostensibly complied with the charter requirement on December 15, 1947, and approved a financial program of \$104,000,000—up to that time the largest in the city's history²—without changing the property tax rate or the city's earned income tax rate.

Councilmanic action in this instance, however, was a mere technical compliance, since municipal employees were demanding wage and salary increases to meet the rising costs of living and department head

²Tentative budgetary estimates for 1949 are far greater, standing now at approximately \$120,000,000.

are insisting upon larger appropriations to meet inflated prices and to finance long delayed public improvement programs.

Faced with a serious problem, city officials had the choice of several unpalatable alternatives. First, it was entirely possible to meet all reasonable demands for increased wages by departmental appropriations by increasing the property taxes or the earned income tax, or both. Indeed, some new tax, like the sales tax, might have been levied. But experience of recent years had convinced city council that the people were in no mood for tax increases. There is a deep-seated popular conviction that taxes already paid were not being used for the public's best interests and that waste, extravagance and mismanagement prevailed in many departments of Philadelphia's government.

As another alternative, city-county officials could have effected considerable savings by discharging incompetent, over-age and unnecessary employees. But there was a political organization to be reckoned with in which many of the councilmen and other officials were ward leaders and party men. The politically faithful did to be rewarded and payroll connections have long been the most coveted rewards.

In a number of departments methods and devices were so antiquated that installation of modern business machines would have cut floor costs almost in half. But, as a member of the Committee of Fifteen put it, when this plain fact is called to the attention of a responsible organization leader he

promptly replied, "but Joe,* machines don't vote."

It can be seen, therefore, that to satisfy the demands of municipal employees and department heads, without slashing personnel and making drastic changes in organization and methods, with all members of the same political party, city council would have been compelled to increase taxes in a presidential election year.

Confronted with this dilemma, city council created the Committee of Fifteen. In this way responsibility for making certain crucial decisions was shifted to a group in which the public generally had confidence. Little did council suspect that this committee would move so relentlessly against the forces of arrogance, corruption and mismanagement, so long entrenched in the city-county government and in the dominant political machine of Philadelphia.

Committee's Functions Limited

The councilmanic resolution which authorized appointment of the Committee of Fifteen reflected clearly the council's lack of concern with corruption, inefficiency and gross neglect of the public interest soon to be brought so dramatically to public attention. The resolution provided:

Whereas, requests have been made for additional appropriations and increases in salaries for city and county employees of Philadelphia for 1948,

And whereas, in order to grant these requests it will be necessary to obtain additional revenue for the city of Philadelphia; therefore

Resolved by the council of the city of Philadelphia, that the mayor

*Name of the member of the Committee of Fifteen withheld.

and the president of city council, jointly, are hereby authorized to appoint a special committee of fifteen . . . for the purpose of reviewing the finances of the city of Philadelphia for the year 1948, in order to fully ascertain the aggregate possibilities of revenue to be derived out of existing taxation, and for the purpose of recommending legislation whereby new revenues may be obtained, together with any other legislation, so as to insure an increase in compensation for employees of the city and county of Philadelphia, retroactive to January 1, 1948.

It was also provided that the committee should submit its report and recommendations on or before March 1, 1948. An appropriation of \$10,000 was made to finance the committee's expenses for the two-month period.

Committee Recommendations

The Committee of Fifteen demonstrated at the outset that its investigations would not be confined to the innocuous survey which the councilmanic resolution apparently anticipated. Initial objectives of the committee were clearly set forth in its report of March 1, 1948:

The problem before the committee resolved itself into four major considerations:

1. Is the tax dollar being efficiently used by the city and county of Philadelphia?

2. Is the city collecting all the money it can under existing legislation?

3. What is the amount of money needed (a) to give salary increases to employees to meet the increased cost of living, and (b) to provide for justified departmental requests?

4. If the city's requirements cannot be financed through the maximum collection of present revenues, and by realizing all possible economies,

what then is the best way to bridge the gap through new tax legislation?

In the attempt to find answers to the questions raised, a subcommittee was appointed to investigate and report on each of the four basic problems. As a result of the combined efforts of the four subcommittees and their staffs (supplied with charge by the Pennsylvania Economic League, the Bureau of Municipal Research and the Chamber of Commerce), the Committee of Fifteen was able to make a forthright and illuminating report on March 1. Its main conclusions and recommendations were:

1. The tax dollar is not being efficiently spent. Some bureaus are efficiently operated. In others there are employees who are unnecessary, inefficient or overpaid. Supervision of employees is generally lacking and deficient. The generally accepted hours for a working day for our employees are ignored. Many properties are old, obsolete, badly worn. . . . In most bureaus, methods, procedures and forms used are obsolete, uneconomical and cumbersome and do not adequately protect the public funds. [Specific illustrations were supplied to support these conclusions.]

2. Pay increases for Philadelphia city and county employees totaling approximately \$5,000,000 can be given immediately [March 1, 1948] without any increase in the tax burden. Efficient collection of taxes can provide the funds necessary to meet requirements.

3. A long-range program of personnel administration . . . for city and county departments should be established immediately. At present only city departments operate under the merit system.]

4. The city could increase revenue collections from existing sources at least \$5,000,000 by more efficient organization and st

ing of the receiver of taxes office and the water bureau, (b) more vigorous action in the collection of taxes and water rents due the city, (c) complete metering of the city's water services with appropriate readjustment of rates, (d) removal of trolleys from certain streets and rerouting of traffic to increase the city's revenues from the subway system, and (e) more conscientious adjudication of traffic violation cases to insure that offenders shall pay their fines.

5. Provision should be made at the earliest feasible date for a modern budget office with an adequate staff.

At first it was assumed that the Committee of Fifteen would cease to function after the submission of the March 1 report. Findings of the committee up to that time, however, showed that it had merely scratched the surface in its investigations and that many more weeks of payroll audits and examination of departmental methods and organization were essential. Accordingly, the life of the committee was extended to December 31, 1948. Later an appropriation of \$50,000 was made by city council to finance its investigations.

A staff of some 45 research assistants and part-time consultants are being used by the committee in its efforts to make as thorough and painstaking investigations as time permits. While some twenty or more are full-time personnel, it is a matter of deep public interest that approximately 25 consultants and assistants—some true experts—have been provided by the Bureau of Municipal Research, Committee of Seventy, Chamber of Commerce and the Pennsylvania Economy League. According to Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and research

director for the committee, it is difficult to evaluate the services of some of these able consultants. It would be safe to say, however, that Philadelphia is getting a \$250,000 research job for the councilmanic appropriation of \$50,000. On September 16 council's finance committee approved \$205,000 for new audits of the office of the receiver of taxes.

While the spotlight in the present turbulent and tangled situation in Philadelphia's city-county government has been focused mainly on the Committee of Fifteen, a valuable contribution to the cause of good government in Philadelphia has been made by the State Department of Justice. After long and careful investigation of the magistrate courts by the Committee of Seventy, the attorney general appointed an able and aggressive special investigator to probe the alleged illegal conduct of a recently demoted chief magistrate. Over five hundred charges had been filed against him as of September 1, 1948. Bail for the accused official was set at the fantastic figure of \$75,000 but has since been reduced by a higher court to \$15,000.

The State Department of Justice has also been cooperating in the special grand jury investigation of city-county departments, especially the receiver of taxes' office. The Joint State Government Commission, an arm of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, has been on the scene for a number of weeks assembling facts and holding hearings in anticipation of remedial legislation.

Investigations by the Committee of Fifteen disclosed gross negligence and the loss of city cash in the de-

partment of supplies and purchases. A clerk in the department was the first convicted of embezzlement. He is now awaiting sentence which may run as long as three hundred years. The director of this department was dismissed by the mayor and council when he refused to resign. Later a suicide in the office of the receiver of taxes disclosed widespread embezzlement of public funds in the amusement tax division. One employee has been convicted and several more are awaiting trial. The controller's audit of the amusement tax division has established shortages of over \$200,000 to date.

Again, irregularities, poor administration and lack of discipline in this department moved the Committee of Fifteen and the Republican city chairman to demand the resignation of the receiver of taxes. His reply was that he intended to remain in office until "the cows come home," and since he is an elective official, the only feasible method of removal is the cumbersome device of impeachment. Plans are now being made to install four competent assistants in the receiver's office who will be expected to organize and conduct its affairs on a business basis.

In the course of the investigations, a number of unnecessary employees have been dismissed, others have been transferred to positions where they render some service, more conscientious observance of standard hours of work is reported, and the general tone of city-county government is somewhat improved.

But the job of house-cleaning and reorganization has really just begun. Of interest on the strictly political

side was the removal of the chairman of the Philadelphia Republican organization early this year and the choice of a new chairman who has been cooperating splendidly with the Committee of Fifteen and other agencies in the attempt to clean up the city-county government.

Drastic Changes Necessary

Philadelphia's civic leaders and a surprisingly large number of citizens are currently up in arms as a result of these disclosures. In this moment of righteous indignation some significant changes in city-county governmental machinery and methods doubtless be made. Some, in fact, have already been made. However, the really fundamental change without which no real and lasting improvements in city-county government can be expected—will entail a long and arduous fight against powerful political forces which work behind the scenes and which have suffered only minor reverses during the first half of the twentieth century.

If Philadelphia is to have more efficient and economical government these are the goals that must be attained:

(1) *City-county consolidation.* This objective is unquestionably the head of the list. Philadelphia has long endured a hybrid city-county government, with one "chief executive"—the mayor—and a council, but with more than thirty boards, commissions, departments and other agencies, twenty of which are independent of the mayor.

Many of these independent offices and agencies, like the sheriff, coroner, register of wills, recorder of deeds, treasurer, controller, cou

Commissioners and others, are guaranteed security by the state constitution. Hence, to provide effective city-county consolidation the constitution must be amended, and that requires approval by two successive legislatures—the 1949 and 1951 General Assemblies will be the earliest—and approval by popular vote at the statewide election of 1951 will be the earliest.

An amendment to provide city-county consolidation for Philadelphia was submitted to a popular referendum in 1937 and was defeated as a result of the adverse vote outside Philadelphia. This most important reforms will be challenged by machine politicians all the way. Only tough, courageous and long-suffering leadership and a thoroughly aroused electorate can expect to win the battle against such opposition.

(2) *Home Rule*. This is a second objective of paramount importance

Philadelphia's struggle for good government. Many months of painstaking preparation of a new charter for the Philadelphia Charter Committee and its staff came to an inglorious end in 1939 when the machine politicians, primarily from Philadelphia, blocked the charter's adoption by the General Assembly. It seems indefensible that charter changes so essential to this city's welfare cannot be made by the people of Philadelphia without outside interference. Home rule privileges require legislative action only, since the state constitution has authorized the General Assembly to extend home rule to cities, or cities of any class, since 1922.

(3) *New charter*. The third out-

standing need in the drive for good government in Philadelphia is a modern, streamlined charter to replace one that has long been outmoded. Among the most important changes which the new charter should provide are these: (a) reduction in size, and change in the method of electing, city council; (b) concentration of administrative responsibility and authority in the hands of a strong mayor or city manager, as the voters may decide; (c) provision for ten or twelve well organized departments to perform the functions now unsystematically parcelled out to more than thirty boards, commissions and departments; (d) extension of the merit system to all departments of city and county government (at present only those under the mayor are covered), and provision for a well organized personnel system; (e) provision for an executive budget system where virtually no system now exists; (f) provision for both a pre-audit and a systematic and thorough post-audit, with complete coverage in both instances. These proposed changes are among the most essential but they by no means exhaust the list.

Will the Fight Go On?

It is well known that a good charter alone will not produce good government. The main requirement in the endless struggle for efficient and economical government is an intelligent, informed and active electorate. At this moment there is abundant evidence that the people of Philadelphia want good government and that they are determined to have it.

(Continued on page 494)

Farewell to the Politicians

*They fought new manager charter every step of the way
but Richmond's aroused citizens outvoted them six times*

By HUGH R. THOMPSON JR.*

RICHMOND, capital city of Virginia, and one time capital of the Confederate States of America, last month abandoned one of the most cumbersome and outmoded charters to be found in the nation for one of the most modern and effective.

The change is no accident. It is the result of determined action by an irate citizenry with an effective medium for cooperative action and competent leadership.

From 1928 until 1946 only 3 per cent of the adult population participated in municipal general elections and only 9 per cent participated in municipal primaries. The low ebb came in June 1944, when only 2,987 votes were cast in the election of a mayor for the city, which has an estimated population of more than a quarter of a million!

Realizing the gravity of the situation, a meeting of civic-minded citizens was called by the Inter-Club Council of Richmond in February 1945. At this meeting an organization committee was named and Claude R. Davenport, a prominent businessman and civic leader, was elected temporary chairman.

During the months that followed

*Mr. Thompson is executive secretary of the Richmond Citizens Association. He was formerly news reporter for the Richmond *News Leader* and publications editor of the Virginia Transit Company. During the war he saw service with the infantry in the Philippines and Korea, retiring as major.

the committee worked intensively to lay the groundwork for a truly effective city-wide, nonpartisan civic organization—the Richmond Citizens Association. In October 1945, the organization committee adopted the proposed charter and by-laws and elected its first officers and directors. Richard H. Hardesty, Jr., a local candy manufacturer, was named the first president of the new association which was granted its charter by the State Corporation Commission in February 1946.

Almost simultaneously with the formal establishment of the association, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an enabling act which permitted the voters of Richmond for the first time to decide whether they desired to consider formally a change in their city's charter. Under the new statute it was necessary to secure some 4,800 signatures of qualified voters on petitions asking that a referendum be held. Each signature had to be notarized.

The infant association accepted the challenge. Within 90 days it secured 5,530 properly notarized signatures of qualified voters upon petitions for a referendum on the question "Shall this city take steps to frame and request the General Assembly of Virginia to grant to a special form of government."

The association then began work on a campaign organization. Moscoe Huntley, a prominent local attorney, was appointed general counsel.

campaign chairman. A "personal contact" team of representatives of every section of the city was recruited to discuss the referendum question in every neighborhood; advertisements were run in the newspapers; folders, show cards and bumper strips were printed and distributed in large quantities; members of a speakers bureau appeared before scores of groups throughout the city; many prominent citizens were recruited to make radio talks; business, civic and fraternal organizations were encouraged to discuss the question at their meetings; thousands of letters were sent to prospective voters inviting their attention to the referendum and requesting them to post themselves on the question.

New Charter Supported

When the referendum was held on November 5, 1946, 20,840 qualified voters cast their ballots. Of these, 16,755 approved the proposition. On the same ballot seven candidates endorsed by the Richmond Citizens Association were elected overwhelmingly to compose a commission to draft a new charter for the city.

The commission faced its unfamiliar task seriously and with determination. Chairman W. Sterling King sought materials from the National Municipal League just in time to obtain a preliminary draft of that organization's *Guide for Charter Commissions*.

First to use the *Guide*, Richmond's commission retained Thomas H. Reed as draftsman and made use of a number of other experts as consultants.

It was not long after this that the

association's nominating committee was looking for an outstanding leader to head the organization in 1947. Then it was that L. E. Marlowe, a successful tire dealer, made a speech before the West Richmond Business Men's Association, of which he was president. He had no intention of getting into the thick of the charter fight when he made it. But he said:

"A businessman has no right to complain about taxes and bad government unless he is willing to do something about it."

Before he could think of a convincing excuse, Mr. Marlowe found himself drafted. The nominating committee was unanimous in its recommendation and the board of directors was unanimous in its vote upon the association's new president.

Not once during the following twelve months did the association have cause to regret its choice. To its new president the association came first, even before his own business.

Meanwhile, the charter commission was devoting its time and energies to a study of Richmond's government and to the drafting of a new charter, which it filed with hustings court on May 2, 1947.

Even before the judge of hustings court could announce that the proposed charter would be voted upon on November 4, 1947, Richmond's entrenched politicians served notice that they intended to use whatever means was within their power to stop the movement for a change in Richmond's government. Early in June they consolidated their forces and adopted a name as cumbersome and befuddling as the charter they were

fighting to retain. They called themselves the "Organization for the Preservation of Our Democratic Form of Government."

Politicians Object

The City Democratic Committee fired its first shot in a resolution:

The City Democratic Committee of Richmond, having carefully considered the move now in full swing for the establishment of a city manager for Richmond and also for a nonpartisan council, takes this occasion to express its unequivocal opposition.

The Democratic party has been responsible for the city government for nearly a hundred years and has given the city a government that is efficient and without corruption. We feel that our party can continue to carry on in the future in the same way and to that end we pledge ourselves.

The insidious attempt to gain control of the city we regard as a reversion to old discarded things, to the dictatorship of a few who are to hold irresponsible power. We call upon all true Democrats to defeat at the polls this most undemocratic proposal.

This time the association knew it had a real fight on its hands. Step number one was to get the best general campaign chairman available.

Mr. Marlowe went to his old friend Ed P. Phillips, one of Richmond's most dynamic businessmen and the most outstanding leader in the association's 1946 campaign. Knowing what lay ahead, he was hard to convince. He ran through all the usual excuses of why he couldn't accept the responsibility and then said that his health wouldn't stand it.

Marlowe immediately telephoned his own doctor and made an appointment—not for himself but for Phil-

lips. He took Phillips to the doctor and said: "Give him a thorough physical and let me know if he's in condition to run our campaign for us."

The unique procedure took Phillips so much by surprise that before he knew it he was saying "Ah," having his blood pressure taken and submitting to thumps and listenings at various sections of his anatomy. His examination completed, the doctor pronounced: "It not only won't hurt him. It will do him good."

Having received this verdict, Mr. Phillips accepted the post and immediately dug into a work schedule which would have killed a lesser man. During the four-month period, July through October 1947, he devoted from fourteen to sixteen hours a day to the campaign.

As practical businessmen with the well established habit of success, Marlowe and Phillips decided that, first of all, they had to know personally all about their "product" and by what methods others had "sold" it. They hopped a plane for New York and spent half a day at the office of the National Municipal League. From there they went to Hartford, where a successful campaign for a manager plan charter had recently been waged. Then, as they said later, they went back home and "packaged" the product.

A city-wide central campaign committee was assembled, with representatives of many organizations and groups; a special finance committee was organized to raise funds necessary to support the campaign; charts and files were prepared dividing the entire city into areas, precincts, sec-

tions and blocks so that specific volunteer workers could later be assigned to call on every home; leaders were appointed to supervise the personal contact program; a public relations committee, with subcommittees, was organized to handle radio, newspaper, billboard, pamphlet, showcard and other promotional details; business, civic and patriotic organizations throughout the city were invited to join with the association in a coordinated effort; a speakers bureau was established to furnish the best qualified speakers to appear at meetings, debates, round tables and broadcasts; telephone committees were organized to call every home in the city to remind citizens to get out and vote; direct mail explaining the provisions of the proposed charter was sent to a majority of the homes in the city; a banner was strung across one of the principal thoroughfares; jingles were composed and recorded for use on the radio and sound trucks. In short, there were few possibilities overlooked.

Most amazing was the fact that the association was able to bring together on a common front the city's leading representatives of business, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the I. O. O. F., the A. F. of L., the League of Women Voters, the Junior League, Housewives League, Democrats, Republicans and other groups.

The City Democratic Committee, which had hastened to be the first to condemn the proposed charter, soon found that it could not make a party issue of the question and that many Democratic leaders were on the other side of the fence. This

merely added fuel to the fire. The "old liners" fought with every weapon they could find. Their speakers variously accused the charterites of being "big interests," the "silk stocking crowd," "communists," "fascists," and "reactionaries." Dr. J. Fulmer Bright, former mayor of Richmond for sixteen years, called the Citizens Association "Richmond's Tammany Hall." Jesse M. Johnson, opposition chairman, charged that the Richmond Charter Commission had "out-communized the Communist party."

Victory at Last!

By election day there were few residents of Richmond who were not personally in the thick of the fight. This time 29,672 qualified voters—the largest number ever to vote in a municipal election—went to the polls, 21,567 of them to vote in favor of the charter drafted by the commission.

Despite this decisive vote the opposition again waged a bitter fight against the proposed charter when it was introduced into the 1948 Virginia General Assembly as House Bill Number 1. Led by Archie C. Berkeley, chairman of the City Democratic Committee, and former State Senator John J. Wicker, Jr., they fought it in committee and on the floor of both houses. After almost a month and a half of debate and delay the bill was approved by the General Assembly with only a few minor changes.

The old charter which Richmond has tossed into the ash can provided for a bicameral council of 32 members elected by wards, 20 serving on a common council and twelve on a board of aldermen. Although pop-

ularly referred to as a "strong mayor" type, the old government did not merit this designation in the eyes of most authorities in the municipal field because of hopelessly overlapping administrative authority and responsibility.

Richmond's new charter has streamlined the city's legislature to a single body of nine members, elected at large. This council is given the responsibility of establishing policy but must leave administration in the hands of a city manager whom it appoints. Although the manager may be removed at any time by the council, the charter draws a sharp line between legislation and administration. Just to keep it out of political mischief, the charter makes the entire council subject to re-election each two years.

The new basic law also provides:

A personnel system with provision for uniform classification, merit rating and pay plans;

A rigid system of budgeting with separate budgets required for each utility, a compulsory balanced budget and elimination of an old, much misused 5 per cent reserve fund;

Payment of all bonds within the probable life of the improvement, with a maximum term of 30 years;

A referendum on any bond issue upon a petition signed by 10 per cent of the voters of the city;

Appointment of all department heads, except the city attorney, by the city manager;

Two new departments—a department of personnel and a department of recreation and parks;

A new bureau of traffic safety independent of the department of public safety;

Appointment of judges of municipal courts by the judges of the court of record instead of having them elected by council;

Appointment, instead of election of justices of the peace and the high constable;

Payment of justices of the peace on a salary rather than a fee basis;

Establishment of a new traffic court.

Plan in Operation

To serve on its first nine-man council and to establish policy under its new form of government, the voters of Richmond, on June 8, 1944, elected nine men who had publicly supported the charter change. Eight of the nine were endorsed by the Richmond Citizens Association.

Thus, during a period of two years, Richmond's electorate has on several occasions decisively stood with the association: first, in petitioning for a referendum on the charter question; second, in voting for a study of a probable change in Richmond's charter; third, in electing a charter commission recommended by the association; fourth, in voting for the adoption of the commission's proposed charter; fifth, in insisting that the Virginia General Assembly enact the proposed charter into state law; sixth, in electing eight out of nine candidates for city council endorsed by the association.

What's happened to Mr. Phillip, the reluctant campaign chairman? Oh, he was elected president of the Richmond Citizens Association and says he never felt better in his life.

Good Charter, Better City

Yonkers, seared by political scandal of decade ago, goes forward with manager plan and fair election methods.

By OXIE REICHLER*

YONKERS is getting a good press around the nation these days, and it is the result of vast improvement in its municipal government and the alertness of its citizens. The National Municipal League, for instance, recently published a revised edition of *The Story of the Council-Manager Plan*, in which it says:

"YONKERS SHOWS HOW

"When the new manager and P.R.-elected council took over the government of Yonkers, New York, (population 142,000) in 1940, they inherited a large debt and a large smell from the previous administration.... "Departmental expenditures were cut from nearly \$10,000,000 in 1939 to slightly over \$7,000,000 in 1944. But in the same period assessed valuations were brought down by \$17,000,000, and the tax levy was lowered by almost \$1,000,000. Notwithstanding these economies, services were improved.

"A greatly inflated payroll of 3,619 employees was reduced by about 1,000, mainly by not filling vacancies. One of the biggest patronage beds was the water extension bureau, which had 120 employees listed for work that the city manager found could be done by four persons. Later the bureau was abolished.

"These gains were scored despite

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bitter-end opposition from the two major political parties, often working together. For the first two and a half years progress was slow because the government was captured by a bi-party coalition.

"In 1942 both parties attacked the charter with simultaneous referenda to kill proportional representation. Each proposition lost by two-to-one. A real factor in this victory for the voters was the civic leadership of the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, a newspaper that rates city affairs as page one news, and the manager plan and P.R. as worth fighting for."

Yonkers has earned such a glowing tribute (which really is only a small part of the story) by digging out of the mess and by trying hard to hold on to its gains and to move still further onward and upward in civic achievement.

Fifteen years ago Yonkers was regarded as one of the worst-governed among America's first hundred cities. It was in the clutches of political machines. It had to get down on its knees to borrow money.

Today—after nearly nine years under a streamlined council-manager charter with the proportional representation method of electing its councilmen—it is widely regarded as one of the well governed cities in America. Banking syndicates outbid each other in their eagerness to invest in the city.

Under the leadership of a common

council that represents the positive preferences of 97.2 per cent of the electorate and under an aggressive new city manager, Thomas V. Kennedy, Yonkers has just concluded the biggest street resurfacing program in recent history, is spending a million dollars a year to catch up on long postponed school repairs.

Public criticism of prior paving contracts was eliminated by publicizing in advance the safeguards that would be used to prevent loss to the city. Every project was personally checked by the city manager.

Efficiency Sought

Every municipal department has been surveyed and many changes are under way for economy and efficiency. Recommendations of the manager include collection of ashes and garbage by contract, merger of parks and recreation departments, closing of a city hospital for communicable diseases and the city museum. Projects under way include incineration and parking meter expansion.

Promptness among employees has attained new importance, with signing in and out plus a permanent record for personnel attendance at work, for use in sick leave grants.

Department heads meet regularly for over-all coordination. Prepurchase control has been inaugurated, requiring prior approval by the manager or his assistant for each purchase or requisition, thus limiting nonessential purchases and decreasing emergency purchases.

Price tags are placed on all projects advocated by the common council, the general public or submitted by the manager, thus also limiting adop-

tions where cost is out of proportion to the project's desirability.

Revision of all insurance policies and bonds is under way for economy. By a series of letters to the council the manager has informed both of officials and public of the status of city finances together with recommendations for improvement.

Physical examinations have been inaugurated for all personnel in the public works department and chronic absentees have been discharged.

Confronted with heavy inflationary pressures and skyrocketing payroll costs, Mr. Kennedy is seeking to obtain council support for the levying of new taxes—other than real estate—to increase the city's revenues.

As its editor, I am proud to say that *The Herald Statesman* has had a great deal to do with effecting this improvement in government. It provided a lot of information in interesting and absorbing form. It helped to clarify problems by printing many facts—some of them very ugly. It encouraged readers to exercise civic energy, to speak their minds and to write their opinions in the paper where all could share them.

In premanager days, when the paper discovered what seemed to be purchasing scandals, for instance, it began publishing each day an itemized list showing every municipal purchase. That data soon had a grand jury very busy.¹

When the proposed new charter was put before the voters it published a series of simply stated ques-

¹See also "Local Press as Civic Force," the REVIEW, April 1947, pages 184-188.

tions and answers, which are still a civics textbook in our schools.

The Herald Statesman offered leadership in exposing the true condition of the city's finances. It first revealed a five-million-dollar deficit in a single year! It first disclosed gambling and election scandals. Some of the "situations" of those council-manager days are still being uncovered.

City in the Mire

When I came to Yonkers nineteen years ago, I found new schools that were crumbling, and a brand new city health center that was put up with the wrong kind of steel and had to be torn down and rebuilt.

I saw Dutch Schultz run a brewery block from the city's principal business sector, with the help of important politicians, watched him fortify the building with machine guns and order police and milkmen off the streets. I saw miles of fire hose stretched in filthy sewers—to carry illegal beer to convenient drops around the city.

I saw a city that was mired in troubles, unable to pay its employees, obliged to administer deep paycuts, to close the schools. Scrip was used to pay merchants. It was next to impossible to borrow money for public purposes.

There was refinancing of the city's debts—by new huge borrowing at 6 per cent interest. There was more borrowing—year by year—to "hold down the tax rate." Lavish spending, wasteful waste, political patronage continued unabated.

By that time—thanks to a small group of residents who also had the warm cooperation of *The Herald*

Statesman—a movement was under way to seek relief by a modern, businesslike charter.

We won the right to a referendum on what New York calls Plan C²—which had failed in 1925. The administration in power refused to let the people vote on it at the regular election and set a special election two weeks later. That was in 1936 and it failed. Again, in 1937, there was a failure.

Then an amendment to the home rule law, permitting cities to amend their charters, was adopted by the New York State legislature in 1938, and that year Yonkers was the first city to take advantage of it.

It adopted an amendment providing not only for council-manager government but also for the proportional representation method of electing the council. The city has kept both. Efforts by both the Republican and Democratic machines to repeal P. R. have been defeated in landslides.

Samuel Johnson said that "to improve the golden moment of opportunity, and catch the good that is within our reach, is the great art of life." Yonkers did just that!

We had our troubles, of course. Council-manager government is no absolute panacea! It is another way—usually a better one—of carrying on a city's housekeeping. The responsibility of the people to elect first-class councilmen is not decreased. It is increased.

If dishonest councilmen are elected, the council-manager form may permit even greater abuses than any other

²Optional law providing the council manager plan.

plan—because of the peculiar concentration of power. But if there is an interested citizenship, which elects a dependable council, you get astonishingly excellent benefits.

That is one reason why proportional representation is such a valuable companion piece of council-manager government. It lets the people nominate and elect councilmen, taking the power away from the political machines. It allows what Abraham Lincoln advocated, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." It also lets the minority have representation on the council in accordance with its proportionate strength. In Yonkers the Democratic party, which has about 40 per cent of the vote, gets 40 per cent of the council. Our Democratic leaders concede that, if we did not have P. R., they would be locked out of the government entirely.

How did the idea get going?

Civic Endeavors

There were a number of things. There were informative newspaper articles in great abundance. There were editorials offering suggestions and giving inspiring examples from other communities.

There were some lively taxpayer organizations and an organization where they pooled their ideas and talents—the Council of Yonkers Civic Associations—where the seed of council-manager government was planted and germinated under fiery leadership.

There came the emergence of Edith P. Welty, housewife and grandmother, who stumbled out of the elation of winning a debate on city manager government into examining

her own city—plunging her active into the fascinating field of local government. She has been a for most exponent of municipal reform. She was elected to the first council manager common council and she has been reelected ever since. The political machines fear her more than anything else or anybody else in town.

Mrs. Welty helped organize the women of the city into all kinds of small groups—clubs, socials, bridge groups—all part of a "Wake Up Yonkers" drive that sprouted so rapidly and so efficiently that old fashioned politicians rubbed their eyes in wonderment and disbelief. They have learned that valuable lesson: Never underestimate the power of a woman!

There was a vigorous pro-chart group, called the City Manager League, which was ever ready to breathe fire and brimstone down the necks of those who steal elections and loot the public treasury. It was competently led by Horace M. Gray, a New York admiralty lawyer.

There was a splendid government research group, called the Committee of 100, led by James H. Moseley, industrialist, which began using its talents to pry into accounts and procedures at city hall and to lay bare the details of mismanagement and dereliction. In teamwork with the newspaper, its work was effective beyond words. Even the people exposed and criticized invariably commended its high standards of procedure, its insistence upon justice and fairness, its willingness to present all sides of any case.

The top leadership, however, rare if ever totaled more than 40 persons.

but they were people who had public confidence and therefore support.

Both the City Manager League and the Committee of 100 have now passed from the picture, and a new Yonkers Municipal League is seeking to take the place of both and build a wider and more comprehensive good government advocacy, with a large membership.

Meanwhile, an extraordinary program of women's participation in registration and election is being organized this fall with perhaps as many as 7,000 women enlisted by election day. A long series of teas has been held in every part of the city, each woman agreeing to hold a tea for others of her neighborhood, with a massing of effort on the part of this large feminine contingent to "get out the vote" If the kill-P.R. referendum to be voted on at the November election fails, it may be due to this group's announced determination to save the P. R. form of voting.

Some Achievements

We have made long strides forward in a great variety of fields, but the biggest achievements are these two. First, we have enhanced our own self-respect as a community of civic-minded individuals. We have demonstrated that we can have what we want, and that we can have decent government because we demand it. Second, we have achieved substantial national recognition of our efforts. People see Yonkers as a crucible of good government, where the good people are in triumph.

Eight years ago the city's bonded debt totaled \$34,000,000. It was the highest per capita debt of any city of our size in America. Today that

debt has been reduced to about \$19,000,000.

Since that debt is, in effect, a prior lien or charge against the home and property of every citizen, its reduction has increased correspondingly the value of every home and of every property.

Eight years ago the city had a current deficit of several million dollars. Merchants who sold supplies to the city were unpaid for years. Today there is no current deficit. Bills are paid currently and even discounted. The city's current account is on a full cash basis for the first time in history, and it is in the black in current operation for the first time in many years.

Eight years ago the tax rate was \$3.97 per \$100 of valuation. Today, when tax rates for most other cities are going up, it is \$3.71 per \$100. Taxes in Yonkers are lower than in any other major city in Westchester County.

In other years city employees—including school teachers—were forced to work under salary cuts. Today all salary cuts have been restored. In addition, raises and increments have been given in an equitable revision of the entire city salary scheme, increasing the average income of city employees by over \$300. Cost-of-living adjustments, amounting to \$300 per employee this year, also have been paid for several years.

Teachers now are working under a new single-salary schedule, which they have advocated for years, and which will improve their salary scales by an annual amount of over half a million dollars.

Thus, while aggregate bonded debt,

short-term debt and current deficit have been reduced by a total of around \$24,000,000 in the last eight years of council-manager government, during that same period the tax rate has decreased 26 points and the wages of employees have increased about 22.8 per cent if the cost-of-living adjustments are included.

This record graphically explains—in dollars and cents—why Yonkers, which fifteen years ago had to pay 6 per cent interest when it was lucky enough to be able to borrow money on bonds, today is able to sell its bonds easily at an interest rate of 1.38 per cent. We borrow short-term money at one-quarter of one per cent interest.

Finances in Good Shape

Here is what Dun & Bradstreet has to say:

"Yonkers' financial situation and prospects are the best in many years. While the debt load is still moderately heavy, direct net debt has been reduced 43 per cent from 1940 through 1946 and, despite rapid maturity, annual debt service declines steadily from the present level, which is well below peak.

"The current account is on a full cash basis for the first time in a long period, and the city is clearing up its delinquent tax situation effectively under *in rem* procedure.

"The present administration is

giving strong support to good government and sound fiscal policies."

Such a recommendation, circulated widely, is priceless. It speaks for itself.

Yonkers still has problems, of course. Serious ones! It must develop new sources of revenue to meet the rising costs of municipal housekeeping. But it is taking the lead in developing such sources. New industries are coming into the city and a fifteen-million-dollar brand new shopping center is under construction with a huge John Wanamaker department store as a keystone.

We are streamlining our government for economy and efficiency and for improved services. We are getting ready to do some substantial spending on highways, on schools and on other matters that have been neglected during the depression and the war.

We are liquidating our city-owned real estate, which is a major problem—one of the legacies of shabby government. We are taking title to 7,500 parcels of real estate valued at over \$10,000,000 and making plans to put back these properties into private hands, so they can earn their way by paying taxes.

For all the gratifying changes, we have to thank the council-manager charter with proportional representation.

School for City Managers

Maine, leading all states in number of communities with plan, combines academic work with on-the-job training.

By **EDWARD F. DOW***

AMONG city managers it is well known that the state of Maine leads in the number of communities operating under the manager plan. Auburn, Maine, came into the manager system in 1918 and, as of July 1948, there were 92 Maine cities and towns governed by a manager and council. Over half these communities have adopted the plan since 1942.

A favorable climate for professional manager training was thus provided when veterans and their friends interested Governor Hillbreth in the idea in 1945. It was suggested that the University of Maine had the best available facilities and President Arthur Hauck and the trustees agreed to have curricula set up. Professor Weston Evans, head of the department of civil engineering, has been especially helpful in devising and promulgating the joint curricula, and the

*Dr. Dow is professor of government and head of the department of history and government at the University of Maine, and author and director of the training program of which he writes. He is also director of the annual New England Managers' Training Institute and aided in initiating a training school for Maine tax assessors. Dr. Dow is a member of a seven-man committee studying the Maine tax system as it affects local government, of the advisory committee of the Maine Municipal Association and of the state Y. M. C. A. committee which sponsors the model state legislature. He is co-author of *City Manager Government in Portland, Maine*, and contributor to numerous periodicals and encyclopædias.

faculties in arts and technology have cooperated fully in administering the programs and assisting students.

The University of Maine offers bachelor's and master's degrees in "public management." Its "state and federal" option centers in public administration and does not differ greatly from work given in many colleges. This work includes internships in state agencies and plans are under way for a more extensive use of the intern program in cooperation with the governor, the Maine personnel board and state department heads. Emphasis thus far has been upon the "city manager" option and only a few students are enrolled in the state and federal curriculum.

In the city manager option students receive the benefit of the usual arts or engineering subjects and, in addition, they get large doses of material aimed at a judicious combination of the theory and practice of city and town management.

Assume that a high ranking arts student desires to come into the program. He enters a somewhat rigid curriculum not later than his second year and must maintain high grades throughout the course. He must satisfy all the requirements of the college in English, sciences, foreign languages, etc., and complete such subjects as drafting, mathematics, surveying, statistics and accounting. He also begins his studies in American national government, state and

local government, municipal government and administration. In his junior and senior years he takes courses in elementary and advanced highway engineering, sanitary engineering, public finance, public administration, constitutional law, personnel management, etc.

Before he receives his degree the student must carry out three months of satisfactory work in the office of a city manager. This "internship" includes full time work at a variety of projects, including a major problem on which about half his time is concentrated. The community pays him a small weekly wage, which the federal government supplements with subsistence payments if he is a veteran. He turns in a weekly written report to his major instructor and writes a summary paper at the end of three months. If his work is satisfactory, he receives college credit.

At least once during the program the director of interns, Edward F. Dow, visits each community, interviews the manager and inspects the results of the intern's work.

Managers Aid Program

Managers in Maine and New Hampshire have been most generous of their time and effort in the intern phase of the curriculum. Interns are encouraged to attend the annual in-service training institute for managers, inaugurated at the University of Maine in the summer of 1946. The first of such manager training courses in the country, the New England Managers' Training Institute is the result of cooperation of the university with the Maine Town and City Managers' Associ-

ation and the International City Managers' Association, acting upon a suggestion of Clarence E. Ridler, executive secretary of the latter organization. At the institutes interns become acquainted with managers as well as with their day-to-day problems.

An undergraduate civil engineering student in the College of Technology may elect a similar curriculum, including identical internship training and attendance at the managers' institute. His program differs from that of the arts college student in its greater emphasis upon engineering subjects. He fulfills all the requirements for a bachelor of science degree in civil engineering, plus the "city manager option for civil engineers," which includes courses in accounting and government. At the conclusion of his undergraduate program he may become a candidate for a master of arts degree in public management on the same footing as an arts college graduate.

The master's degree in public management, open to students of high attainment who have fulfilled either the civil engineering or arts requirements as outlined above, requires at least a year of college study in advanced courses in government, economics and engineering, plus a second period of internship of three months, and a satisfactory thesis and oral examination.

The thesis is written on the basis of an assigned research topic dealing with an actual problem of zoning, housing, highway planning, budget planning, purchasing, etc.

Full appraisal of the results of these curricula must wait upon

greater experience. The university recognizes that there are dangers, and has made and will continue to make changes in curricula and methods of teaching as weak spots appear.

The first student in city management to become a manager was Paul Hermann of Brookline, Massachusetts. Leaving the Navy with the rank of senior lieutenant in 1945, he returned to Bowdoin College to receive his B.S. degree with a major in government in February 1946. Hermann was given the first internship in city management in Maine at Houlton. He served as assistant to Woodbury Brackett, city manager, from March through August 1946. His major project was preparation of traffic and zoning ordinances for Houlton, which were subsequently adopted by the town council.¹ Mr. Hermann entered the University of Maine in September 1946 as a candidate for the Master's Degree and completed the required courses in engineering and government in June 1947. That month he became the first town manager of Bethel, Vermont, where he is now located.

Veterans Receive Appointments

Four World War II veterans graduated in June 1948 and are serving as managers.

Albert Gray, Jr., a graduate of Ohio University, is in Meredith, New Hampshire, where he was appointed the first town manager in May. Another May appointee is Allen L. Torrey, ex-air force pilot who, at 25,

is one of the youngest managers in the United States. He serves in Lancaster, New Hampshire, a town of about 3,100. Torrey served an internship in 1947 in Ellsworth, Maine, with Manager Charles A. Haynes. His special project was a tax revaluation survey of land values in the business area but he assisted in a variety of projects. He was the subject of a feature article in the *Boston Post Magazine* of July 4, 1948.

Earl A. White is the fifth manager of Belfast, Maine, a charming old city which has operated under the plan since 1929. Thomas Libby of South Portland, Maine, became manager of the town of Oakland, Maine, in September after the resignation of the previous manager. He served internships in Bangor, Maine, in 1947 and 1948, with his interests concentrated on establishment of a central purchasing system.

A fifth veteran, Merle Goff of Westbrook, Maine, served his internship in Portland with City Manager Lyman S. Moore. His special study was in purchasing procedures and his work was so highly regarded that he was invited to spend the summer of 1948 in Portland as assistant to the planning engineer. He is now in Detroit where he has a Volker Fellowship at Wayne University. He looks forward to entering the manager profession.

Nine other interns served this summer, two of them under Philip White in Claremont, New Hampshire. Projects ranged from an administrative code to a highway plan. Managers are enthusiastic in their praise of the work these interns ac-

¹Houlton operates under a charter and the council has power to enact ordinances, an authority usually reserved to the town meeting in New England towns.

comply in a brief twelve or thirteen weeks, and the demand for their services thus far exceeds the supply. Approximately 50 undergraduates and graduate students are enrolled in the city manager curricula this fall.

Students Limited

Limitations on the number of students admitted to the city manager curricula are dictated by teaching facilities and job prospects. The requirements are so rigorous that a flood of applicants is not anticipated. Of course, it is evident that not all graduates will become or remain managers. The course is not so highly specialized as to preclude entry into business pursuits or professions such as law. It is anticipated that graduates may become city engineers, research men, finance officers, tax consultants, personnel directors or administrative assistants in government or business. It is our hope that a majority of these able and intelligent young men will enter some phase of public service after receiving their diplomas.

CORRUPT BUT NOT CONTENTED

(Continued from page 479)

This same spirit and determination must be implanted in the minds of those who occupy city hall. There must be made to realize that a public office is a public trust. The merit system and governmental reorganization will help but the real solution may be found in the people's selection of dynamic and capable leaders.

No one questions the fact that much good has been accomplished as the result of the 1948 investigations. But the genuine long-range test, by which it will be determined whether Philadelphia is to continue "corrupt and contented," is yet to come.

It is to be hoped that the Committee of Fifteen will not be abolished at the end of 1948 and that civic leaders will not terminate their efforts with the achievement of a few worthwhile, but relatively minor objectives. Indeed, there are many who now insist that the people of Philadelphia will refuse to let their curtain fall.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Municipal Leagues Mark Golden Anniversaries

Addition of Maryland Brings Official City Groups to 42

FOUR state leagues of municipalities have announced the celebration of their 50th anniversaries this year. The Michigan Municipal League met at Mackinac Island on September 8-11; The League of California Cities held its sessions at Long Beach September 19-22. Plans are under way for the 50th annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities at Des Moines October 13-14 and for the League of Wisconsin Municipalities at Milwaukee November 18-19.

These four leagues led in the formation of state organizations of cities. All but six states now have such groups functioning, Maryland having just been added to the list. The number of cities, towns and villages that are league members now exceeds 1300.

The Maryland League of Municipalities, dormant since 1940, was revived officially on September 18 at a meeting of mayors and city councilmen held at the University of Maryland. Officers were elected, a new constitution adopted, and a schedule of dues for member cities agreed upon. The secretariat of the revived league was established in connection with the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Maryland.

Ohio Leagues Merge

The Association of Ohio Municipalities has recently been formed as a merger of the League of Ohio Municipalities and the Ohio Association of Cities. The Toledo Blade, in discussing

the intermittent effort to obtain fair treatment for cities in the Ohio legislature, says, "The formation of a single association of municipalities to seek a better financial deal from the state and, it is to be hoped, a fairer representation in the legislature, should strengthen the movement."

The association is without authority to collect dues from member cities, and has to be financed by city officials personally. Efforts are expected to be made either to obtain such power from the legislature or to secure a court decision validating payment of dues by cities out of public funds, as has recently happened in Arizona (see the September REVIEW, page 439).

The Association of Washington Cities is holding a series of 21 regional meetings throughout the state, extending from September 8 to October 29. Each comprises a dinner followed by a discussion meeting.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Voters of **Charleston County, South Carolina**, (121,105) adopted the county manager plan on September 14 by a three-to-one vote.¹

The city council of **North Sacramento, California**, (3,053) decided September 13 on a manager type of administration and appointed a manager by unanimous vote. He will have the title of city administrator and is reported to have been given authority over department heads.

Many civic leaders in **Burlington, Vermont**, are reported to favor the manager plan; and John C. Quill, president of the **Winooski Civic League**,

¹See also page 513, this issue.

advocates it for the latter city, stating that many of his fellow-citizens likewise favor the plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Springfield, Massachusetts**, has prepared in semi-graphic form a rough comparison of that city's 96-year-old charter with the council-manager forms—Plans D and E—now available in Massachusetts.

Inquiry into the manager plan has been instituted in the town of **Seekonk, Massachusetts**.

Governor John O. Pastore of **Rhode Island** has recently approved the principle that the citizens of local communities should be allowed to decide their form of local government. The Rhode Island legislature last spring rejected four bills which would have enabled local electorates to decide for or against the council-manager plan.

A committee has been organized to study revision of the town charter of **Southington, Connecticut**, and to consider the manager plan.

In **Watertown, Connecticut**, strong interest in the town manager plan is evident. First Selectman Warren Parker is reported as urging the town to adopt "the representative form of town meetings and the council-manager form of government as the best solution to its problems and to keep progressively growing."

The city council of **Newburgh, New York**, by a three to two vote approved a local law providing that the city manager can be removed only for cause, after written charges and a public hearing. This law, however, is subject to a popular referendum in November.

Petitions for an election on the manager plan for **West New York, New Jersey**, were filed September 8. They have been circulated by the Citizens Non-Partisan League for the Adoption

of Council-Manager Government.

The **Denville, New Jersey**, Good Government League has sponsored public discussion of the advantages of the council-manager plan.

Adoption of the council-manager plan is under consideration in **Lake Wales, Florida**. The Chamber of Commerce is aiding in popular education on the subject.

A citizens' committee in **Mansfield, Ohio**, is promoting the council-manager plan and studying various methods of obtaining it. It is opposed by political leaders of both parties who, however, indicate willingness that the people be permitted to vote on the question.

The citizens of **Sheffield, Alabama**, voted 917 to 603 to retain their commission form of government in preference to a council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Pineville, Kentucky**, is studying the manager plan as a chief objective this year.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Oak Park, Illinois**, which has the village form of government despite a population of 66,000 and can adopt the manager plan by ordinance—a right denied Illinois cities.

Green Bay, Wisconsin, will have an election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan November 2.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Monroe, Wisconsin**, supported by the *Evening Times*.

A committee of the League of Women Voters in **Iowa City, Iowa**, is studying the possibilities of the manager plan for that municipality.

Petitions have been circulated in **Beloit, Kansas**, calling for a November vote on the manager plan.

In **Poteau, Oklahoma**, three members of the city council have been urging a popular vote on adoption of the council-manager form of govern-

ent, following a meeting, attended the council and interested citizens, addressed by Charles F. Spencer, president of East Central State College. The citizens committee has been active pushing the city manager idea for the last two years.

Beatrice, Nebraska, is expected to vote in the near future on adoption of the manager plan.

Alamo Heights, Texas, a suburb of San Antonio, rejected a home rule council-manager charter on August 28 by a vote of 1,108 to 533. Although reported to be favored by Mayor L. A. Douglas and a majority of the city council, the plan was bitterly opposed by the police and fire departments. The volunteer firemen's organization threatened to quit if the plan were adopted.

A group of citizens in **Texas City, Texas**, aided by the *Texas City Sun*, is advocating the manager plan.

A special election June 8, on adoption of the manager plan in **Sheridan, Wyoming**, resulted in defeat, 1,814 to 99.

It is expected that the people of **Phoenix, Arizona**, will vote in November on a new charter which retains the council-manager plan but strengthens the power of the city manager. Mayor Nicholas Udall has withdrawn his proposal for a strong-mayor charter.

Mayor C. W. Oliver of **St. Anthony, Idaho**, has expressed interest in the council-manager plan, saying that citizens of that municipality are considering a change to that form of government.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Pocatello, Idaho**.

Mayor Edward Burton of **San Carlos, California**, urges the council-manager plan for his city, which has nearly doubled in population in ten years.

The city council of **Modesto, Cali-**

fornia, has called a special election for November 2 to name a board of freeholders to draft a council-manager charter.

A proposed council-manager charter for **Corvallis, Oregon**, will be voted on at the November 2 general election.

Petitions have been filed in **Salem, Oregon**, calling for a popular vote on replacement of the council-manager plan by the commission plan—each of three commissioners to head a city department; one to act also as mayor. The *Salem Capital-Journal*, in an editorial, "There Are Some Who Would Have Chaos," denounces the proposed change.

The *Astorian-Budget*, of **Astoria, Oregon**, (a council-manager city) notes with approval the possibility that **Seaside, Oregon**, will adopt the manager plan.

In **Yakima, Washington**, a citizens group is seeking to change the city government from a three-man commission to a seven-man council employing a city manager.

The manager plan is under discussion in **Pasco** and **Kennewick, Washington**.

Nine city managers in the state of **Colorado** held a meeting in Boulder, August 20-22, to form a state organization.

Massachusetts Revamps Its Optional Manager Forms

The 1948 Massachusetts legislature has passed a bill, signed by the governor on June 3, which revamps the state's optional manager legislation available to all cities but Boston.¹

In line with the wave of improvement in city government the legislature in 1915 (Chapter 267) made it

¹For optional charters provided in 1948 for Boston see the REVIEW, July 1948, pages 382 and 396.

possible for cities to choose one of four optional forms of government without resorting to legislative action. With the exception of Boston, through a prescribed procedure a city could choose between a strong-mayor type (Plan A), a weak-mayor type (Plan B), or adopt a more modern model in the form of either a commission (Plan C) or council-manager plan (Plan D).

Practically all cities had forms approximating the weak-mayor or Plan B type. Plan C has never been adopted by any city in the state and Plan D proved so unworkable that its two adoptions were of short duration—Waltham from 1918 to 1922 and Fall River from 1929 to 1934.

Plan D provided that the mayor be elected by the people; he had no right to veto legislation, but voted with the council. The four councilmen were elected at large. The manager was chosen by the council to act as administrative head of all departments and was to hold office "at the pleasure of" the council.

Partly to correct the weaknesses of this earlier type of manager plan and partly to provide a manager plan which would incorporate the principles of proportional representation in the election of the council, Plan E was offered by the legislature in 1938 (Chapter 378) as a fifth option. This plan proved more acceptable and gained six adoptions: Cambridge in 1940, Lowell in 1942, with Revere, Quincy, Medford and Worcester voting in 1947 for adoption.

Plan E provides for a council of seven or nine, with the mayor chosen by the council from among its own members and acting as its chairman. The manager is appointed by the council and may be removed by it. However, unlike the earlier Plan D, upon removal by the council the manager may request a public hearing.

This has not been put to a test, but it has raised many queries.

In 1947 a special legislative commission established to report on public expenditures handed in an omnibus report (House No. 1725) which among many other things suggested a scrapping of the old Plan D and a substitution of a new Plan D which would offer cities an option of a council-manager plan "essentially like Plan E but without the proportional representation feature, and with clarified provisions for the preparation and filing of petition." Two bills were accordingly introduced in the 1948 session of the legislature (Senate 1115 and House 2052). A third bill was introduced later (House 2115) which embodied most of the features of the former House measure and was substituted for it. This was passed and signed by the governor.

The 1948 act provides: (1) for removal of some of the obstacles in the petition procedure of both plans D and E, *e.g.* the register of voters is to certify names on the petition instead of the clerk (old Plan D), a time limit is placed on the clerk's action, and complaints are handled more expeditiously; (2) in the case of Plan D the mayor is chosen by the council from among its number; no city will be without a mayor longer than fourteen days, for if the council fails to elect one of its number within that time (as in the case of Cambridge which required 1,321 ballots of many weeks running), the member receiving the highest number of popular votes becomes the mayor; (3) uniformity in the size of the council for both Plans D and E—either seven or nine; and (4) tenure for the manager in Plan D by requiring a statement of charges in writing for his removal and a two-thirds vote of the council instead of a simple majority. Whether

forces behind this latter provision pushed to force reform or to make removal of the manager extremely difficult it will undoubtedly tend to retard adoptions, and calls for continuation in the 1949 session of the legislature of a fight to correct this measure in a manner similar to action being undertaken in New Jersey.²

LASHLEY G. HARVEY, *Director*
Bureau of Public Administration
Boston University

City Officials Constitute Civil Defense Committee

The American Municipal Association has appointed a fourteen-member committee to represent municipal government interests in the increasingly active preparations for civil defense. Mayor Eugene I. Van Dwyer of Detroit is chairman.

The committee will be concerned essentially with relationships among the federal, state and local governments on matters of civil defense, including the current recommendation that the National Guard be placed under direct jurisdiction of the army. To avoid waste motion and conflict of authority a precise distinction between civil and military defense matters will be attempted, together with clear definitions and distinctions as to the interests and responsibilities for civil defense of the state on the part of the nation, the states and local governments.

An immediate concern of the committee will be to study the proposed organization plans for civil defense to be issued soon by the Office of Civil Defense Planning. The staff work for the committee will be done by a technical advisory committee.

Unless municipal interests are well represented, according to AMA president Fletcher Bowron, mayor of Los

Angeles, there are four federal interests and activities that may leave municipal governments unprotected should any national emergency arise. They are: (1) the recommendation that the National Guard be completely nationalized; (2) the fact that police, fire and other employees belong to naval or army reserve forces; (3) the army's affiliated unit program; and (4) the work of the Office of Civil Defense Planning in the Department of National Defense. Local public services vital to civil defense—police, fire, health, hospitals, public works and utilities—might be severely crippled by federal activities preempting municipal man power in the absence of unified organization.

Public Services Improved by Intercity Cooperation

New projects in intergovernmental cooperation, ranging from joint financing of natural gas lines by Alabama cities to consolidation of public personnel services by three California cities, are reported by the American Municipal Association.

Atmore, Brewton and Flomaton, Alabama, acted jointly to provide natural gas services to their residents. In New Jersey 50 towns in the Hackensack River area are cooperating in an extensive sewer construction project.

In southern California, Alhambra, Arcadia, Azusa, Covina, El Monte, Monrovia, San Marino, Sierra Madre and West Covina have pledged cooperation to the Los Angeles air pollution control district in starting a regional cut-and-fill rubbish disposal operation pending construction of smokeless incinerators.

In the same state, Inglewood, Culver City and Gardena are planning to employ a personnel officer to serve all three cities. In the San Francisco Bay region, eight public personnel agencies

²See the REVIEW, September, page 437.

recently conducted a joint pay survey, setting up unified job classification for their jurisdictions.

Prairie du Sac and Sauk City, Wisconsin, are considering merging their police services.

Six Colorado Towns Form Recreation Association

Six municipalities in southeastern Colorado have gotten together to form a recreation association. They are Las Animas, La Junta, Fowler, Swink, Lamar and Rocky Ford.

Legislative Improvement Seen for Oklahoma

In view of increased salaries recently granted the members of the Oklahoma legislature by constitutional amendment a movement toward streamlining the legislative structure and procedure is in progress. The State Legislative Council has completed many of the basic studies, which are soon to be presented to the legislature, and prepared a bill-drafting manual. Size of standing committees, reduction in their number, pre-session training for legislative employees and the time limit for introduction of bills are among matters expected to be considered by legislators in the near future.

The salary amendment, adopted at the June 6 primary election, gives each legislator \$15 per day during the sessions (not exceeding 75 legislative days) and \$100 per month in intervening periods, as against prior compensation of \$6 per session day, up to 60 days, and \$2 per day thereafter.

Two other amendments were adopted on June 6. One permits counties to levy an additional mill per dollar of property valuation for separate (Negro) schools. Maximum tax levies for white schools had been increased 5 mills by a 1946 amend-

ment. The other amendment placed six existing state colleges under state board of regents as is now the case with the state university and the state agricultural colleges.

Wisconsin Legislature Approves Housing Amendment

The Wisconsin legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment permitting the state to subsidize housing for veterans. According to the National Association of Housing Officials, some \$8,000,000 was made available for this purpose by the legislature last year but is held up because the state supreme court ruled that the constitution bans expenditures for "internal improvements." The proposed amendment would exempt veterans' housing from the restriction. Before becoming effective it must be approved by the regular session of the legislature next year and then by Wisconsin voters, probably next April.

Employment by States Shows Large Increase

State government employment has reached an unprecedented level, according to a recent report by the Bureau of the Census, *State Employment in 1948*, based primarily on April 1948 data. The total number of state employees was given as 926,000, with a monthly payroll of \$171,000,000. The payroll increased 22 per cent—\$31,000,000—between April 1947 and April 1948. State employees increased 10 per cent in number during the same period.

Primarily because of cost-of-living and other pay adjustments, average monthly earnings of state employees rose from \$163 per employee in April 1947 to \$185 in April 1948.

State governments accounted for almost half as many employees as the

(Continued on page 519)

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Bureaus Discuss Expenditures, Budgets

Concerned by Rising Costs and Increasing Services.

A LOOK at Michigan's Financial Future—July 1, 1948" is offered in a bulletin of the **Michigan Public Expenditure Survey**, Henry Steffens, director. Tables of estimated revenues and legislative appropriations point up the contention of the survey that Michigan may be entering another period of deficit financing similar to that of the depression years.

A five-year trend in local government expenditures has been prepared by the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association**, Percy F. Jowett, executive director. It consists of a series of tables reviewing past expenditures, with blanks for proposed budget figures for use at budget hearings.

Municipal revenues and expenditures of Kansas City since 1940, compared with those of other municipal governments of like size and with those occurring in the business world, have been analyzed in *Revenue and Expenditure Trends* (71 pages, charts, tables) by the **Department of Research and Information of Kansas City**, W. D. Brant, director. Rising costs of commodities, labor and services were cited as chief causes of increased expenditures.

The rising cost of government has become a cause of concern to the citizens of Phoenix, Arizona, where operating expenditures during the past six years have increased 84.4 per cent, according to *City of Phoenix, A True Story of How It Spends Your Money* (23 pages, tables, charts and appendix), issued by the **Arizona Tax**

Research Association, S. A. Spear, managing director.

Progressive and effective budget administration, free from rigid bureaucratic controls, is discussed and evaluated in *Budget Administration in the Tennessee Valley Authority*, by Donald C. Kull, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee**, Lee S. Greene, director, and the **Bureau of Research of the University's College of Business Administration**, Charles P. White, director.

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**, D. Benton Biser, director, has made its eighteenth annual survey of Baltimore City's financial condition. The sixteen-page report, principally tables, reveals that the city's situation at January 1, 1948, continued favorable, but the "commission found it necessary to sound a note of caution regarding further debt creation, pending substantial improvement in the taxable basis," according to the commission's news letter *Your Tax Dollar*. The news letter discusses the mayor's proposal for \$50,700,000 of new loans for various purposes and raises the question of increasing costs of city government.

Budgets adopted by San Francisco, Los Angeles, Woonsocket, Buffalo and Providence are summarized respectively in the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research Bulletin**, Alfred F. Smith, director; *For the Record*, news letter of **Los Angeles Government Research**, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary; *Your Business*, a report by the **Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association**, William H. Cunningham, executive director; *Just a Moment*, **Buffalo Municipal Re-**

search Bureau, George G. Sipprell, managing director; and **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** leaflet.

Research Brevities, published by the **Research Department of the Taunton Association of Commerce**, in three of its recent numbers explores the mounting cost of municipal government as reflected in a four-year appraisal of the city budgets and explains a six-year plan for long-range improvement already adopted by nineteen Massachusetts municipalities as an essential part of their financial programs and now under consideration in Taunton.

Taking Stock

A recent *Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division**, Leslie J. Reese, director, is entitled "Taking Stock of the Cities, A Comparative Review of Twenty-four Western Pennsylvania Communities." On the basis of comparative statistics the review indicates that, although most of the cities had a good year in 1947, "the trend seems to point to more difficulties in more cities. Revenues were having a tight race with costs."

Another *Newsletter*, entitled "The Tax Rate Isn't Everything," declares that efficiency or true economy cannot be measured by the size of the budget or a change in the tax rate, that the success of local government depends upon the techniques which have been tried and proved in private business.

Research Brevities of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** discusses the city's financial condition, noting that further property tax increases will be necessary in the near future. Another issue describes the amended New York State permissive local tax law and presents a table estimating returns from each tax under the law if it were applied by the

Schenectady city or county government.

A citizens committee of the **La County Civic League**, of Waukegan, Illinois, under the chairmanship of E. Sams, has made and published *Survey of the City of Waukegan* (pages). Walter R. L. Taylor, executive secretary of the league, made the survey for the committee with the assistance of Henry R. Malmquist.

The **Oklahoma Tax Commission Research Division**, Ernest M. Blad, director, has published a series of tables covering *State Payments to Local Units of Government by Purposes and Sources of Revenue, Fiscal Year 1934 Through 1946-7*.

Assessments, tax rates, property taxes, budgets and per capita taxes and budgets for New Mexico cities and towns and villages in 1947 are charted in the *Tax Bulletin* of the **Taxpayer Association of New Mexico**, Rupert F. Asplund, director.

The **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association**, in *Your Business*, calls attention to the immediate needs of that city: repairs on school buildings, sewer and streets, new fire fighting equipment, improvement of water supply and expansion of the municipal sewage treatment plant. Out of a postwar reserve fund for public improvements of \$300,000, the bulletin points out, the city has appropriated \$166,000 for a high school gymnasium which has not passed the blueprint stage. Aside from this, most of the money has been borrowed from the fund, leaving a balance of only \$4,000. The system must be set up and adhered to, says the association, before Woonsocket can get public improvements.

The **Manchester, New Hampshire Taxpayers Association**, John J. Gaine, executive secretary, recommends a 8 per cent cost of living salary adjustment for city employees—th

despite increases amounting to 58 per cent from 1942 to 1947.

Legislative Council Reports and Other Useful Documents

Legislation before the Minnesota legislature is being studied and examined by the **Legislative Research Committee** established by the 1947 legislature, Louis C. Dorweiler, Jr., research director. Progress reports are issued by the committee.

One such report is a 33-page mimeographed study, with tables and a statistical appendix, on *Veterans' Preference in Minnesota*, exploring "the effect of those provisions of the civil service laws of the state of Minnesota relating to veterans' preference as applied to state and local government," and comparing the veterans' preference provisions of other states.

The **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research**, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, presents a thorough study of the bonus issue in *Proposed Soldiers' Bonus in Minnesota*. The report points out that a majority of the 48 states did not pay a soldiers' bonus for either world war¹ but offer special benefits to veterans such as tax exemptions, preference for governmental jobs, etc., while the federal program of special benefits is unequalled in liberality by any other nation. The voters of Minnesota must decide in November whether to pay veterans' bonus for World War II. The magnitude of the federal government program of benefits to veterans of World War II is illustrated by the fact that it will spend in 1946-50 more than \$1,400 per veteran. In the first four years after World War I the federal government spent about \$400 per veteran. The **Tax Foundation**, Alfred Parker, assistant director, pre-

sents these and other significant facts in *Cash Bonuses for Veterans, A State by State Analysis*, covering both federal and state costs.

The **Oklahoma Legislative Council**, H. V. Thornton, research consultant, has issued the following additional reports of its constitutional survey: *Institutions and Institutional Control in Oklahoma*, by Bill Ingler, a supplement to *A Handbook on Executive and Administrative Agencies in Oklahoma; Legislative Organization and Procedure*, Part A: A Statistical Study, Part B: Bicameralism versus Unicameralism, by H. V. Thornton and Betty Quinlan; and *Legislative Apportionment in Oklahoma*, by H. V. Thornton and William Brandenburg.

The **Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council**, F. H. Guild, director, has issued a *Progress Report of the Council*, reviewing its work as a clearing house for ideas on current legislative problems, research for the proper consideration of such problems, and reports to the legislature and to the general public.

A report of the Subcommittee on Apprenticeship Councils of the **Nebraska Legislative Council**, Roger V. Shumate, director of research, considers the desirability of a regular system of training apprentices and concludes that the program might better be left to voluntary cooperation than be placed under a state apprenticeship council. Another report, from the Subcommittee on Agriculture, deals with the legal status and financial support of agricultural associations and with agricultural research.

A factual *Survey of Power and Industrial Facilities in Southern Nevada* is presented in a 22-page booklet of the **Nevada Legislative Council Bureau**, J. E. Springmeyer, legislative counsel.

"As modern as tomorrow and as old-fashioned as the whiskers that

¹See page 517, this issue.

adorned the faces of her early-day governors, Nevada is a topsy-turvy compound of contrasts." This is the opening sentence in a breezy yet fact-crammed 405-page book, *A Survey of the Functions of the Offices, Departments, Institutions and Agencies of the State of Nevada and What They Cost*, prepared for the Nevada bureau by the late legislative counsel, Frank Helmick. With "no intention of making this a snooping expedition," the counsel presents recommendations for improvement in every department as well as factual information. For example, duplication involving motor vehicle owners so that "a motorist now must go to the highway department to get his driver's license and to the secretary of state for his auto license plates and record his certificate of ownership with a brief stop-over at the county assessor's office en route," is condemned. Chapter heads state briefly the purpose of each section, e.g.: "Lieutenant Governor, a report on the duties of the second in command of the state's government, with a description of his work while he stands by awaiting the time when the governor leaves the confines of the state or resigns."

A recent Research Report of the **Utah Foundation**, Henry R. Pearson, director, outlines the activities, organization and expenditures of the Utah State Department of Agriculture.

Recreation Administration in New Mexico, by Dorothy I. Cline and K. Peterson Rose, "undertaken with the primary purposes of taking stock of what the state of New Mexico is doing now in recreation, and staking out the job that lies ahead," has been published by the **Division of Research of the Department of Government, University of New Mexico**, Jack E. Holmes, acting director.

A Report on the Department of Pub-

lic Welfare of the State of Maryland has been issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**, D. Benton Biser, rector.

"California acquired a fiscal 'no look' in its first annual "budget session of the legislature in March, with an increase of \$278,000,000 over last year's budget, according to the *Report on the 1948 Regular (Budget) Session of the California Legislature* prepared by the **State and Local Government Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce**, R. E. Meilandt, manager. The report includes a summary of major legislation.

A selected list of references on *General Constitutional Revision in the State* covering the period 1937-1947, has been compiled by Ione E. Doris, chief librarian and research associate, **Bureau of Government, University of Michigan**, R. S. Ford, director.

Intergovernmental Fiscal Dealings and Controls

The **Legislative Reference Bureau of the University of Hawaii** has published *Governmental Expenditures in Hawaii* by Robert M. Kamins, research associate, showing how governmental and territorial expenditures have risen in Hawaii in the past several years and revealing the striking similarity of the pattern of territory-county expenditures in Hawaii to that of the states and their localities. Illustrative tables and figures accompany the report.

A report showing payments received from state government, either from "earmarked" or other special funds, by local units of governments for the years 1931-32 through 1946-47 has been prepared by the **Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division**, Ernest Black, director, with a compilation

owing such payments by years, special funds, units of government, etc.

Division of Work between the Central and Local Governments and Rules for Grants-in-Aid to Local Governments in Norway, Sweden, England and Wales, ed. by Kjeld Philip, published by the Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Morris B. Lambie, director, is a translation of an opinion submitted in the summer of 1946 to the Danish Taxation Commission of 1937.

GRA Holds Conference in Chicago

The 1948 conference of the **Governmental Research Association** was held in Chicago at the Congress Hotel, September 8-10. Mayor Martin H. Kennelly of Chicago delivered the main address at the opening luncheon meeting; Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation and chairman of the conference program committee, presided.

The annual GRA award for the most noteworthy piece of research was presented by Douglas Sutherland, chairman of the awards committee, to the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research**, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, for *The Minnesota Tax System*. The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director, received honorable mention for *Budget Backgrounds*.

Conference sessions discussed "Community Development Councils and Governmental Research," "Problems in the Field of Public Welfare," "How Can Our Municipalities Best Be Financed?" and "The Current Status of American Public Education." Workshop sessions were devoted to "Citizen Agency Financing," "Current Developments in Governmental Research,"

and "University Preparation for Governmental Research."

Among the principal speakers were Herold C. Hunt, general superintendent of schools, Chicago; Raymond A. Hilliard, commissioner of welfare, New York City; Mabel L. Walker, executive director, Tax Institute; George W. Mitchell, tax economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; and Park H. Martin, executive director, Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

The feature of the Thursday, September 9, luncheon meeting was the showing of *Life Magazine's* "The New America," a breathtaking visual presentation of scenes of Americana in magnificent color which utilizes a new revolutionary technique of projecting on five huge screens arranged in a 50-foot arc.

Louis D. Brown, new GRA secretary, was introduced to the membership at the annual association meeting. Mr. Brown succeeds G. Gordon Tegnell who resigned to become director of research of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

The following officers and trustees were elected for the coming year: *president*, Robert E. Pickup, director, Northeastern Division, Pennsylvania Economy League; *vice president*, N. Bradford Trenham, general manager, California Taxpayers' Association; *trustees*, Richard A. Atkins, secretary, Boston Municipal Research Bureau; Henry W. Connor, director, Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research; Merle W. DeWees, executive director, New Haven Taxpayers Research Council; Carl R. Dortch, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce; and Steve Stahl, executive vice president, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Park

Worcester Civic Group on Its Toes

*Prepares for Inaugurating
New Charter January 1950*

UNWILLING to rest on its achievement in helping to secure adoption of a council-manager charter with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board, the **Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association** is now in the throes of educating the voter on the advantages of the new government and how best to make it work when it goes into effect in 1950.

A drive for new members is under way with contributing members now numbering 860.

Headquarters were opened on July 1—with a two-year lease—on Worcester's Main Street. It is a convenient location, obvious to passers-by, with plenty of room. Armand J. Brissette, Jr., until recently managing director of the Crusade for Children, has been appointed executive secretary. Mr. Brissette will give full time to the activities of the association and will be assisted by a staff and volunteer workers from the League of Women Voters and other civic groups.

The association lists as its three objectives: (1) to promote democratic, honest and efficient conduct of local government and to recommend improvements therein; (2) to keep Worcester citizens currently informed on, and to induce them to take an active interest in, the affairs of the city; (3) to encourage and support as candidates for public office competent men and women who will make it their primary duty to promote the

best interests of all citizens of the city.

In keeping with these objectives the association is organizing neighborhood groups to study the new government. Several dozen persons have been lined up as speakers and manuals for their use have been prepared on several subjects. Motion pictures will be available.

The *Citizens' Plan "E" Planner*, a mimeographed sheet, is issued "from time to time" to keep members informed of developments. A four-page printed leaflet describes the association and its objectives. A permanent volunteer group to handle addressing and mailings to a list of some 3,000 names has been organized.

One of the outstanding achievements of the association was the booth maintained at the Worcester Centennial Industrial Exposition, July 25-31, where information on the manager plan and P. R. was dispensed. "Rest Your Feet and read about Worcester's future under Plan E," read one of the signs.

The Worcester *Daily Telegram* and *Evening Gazette* are cooperating in the association's educational work. The latter recently commented editorially:

"To guard against any complacency . . . requires work and organization. That fact has been recognized in Worcester and one of the groups devoted to making Plan E succeed is the Citizens' Plan E Association. It carried a big part of the drive to win the referendum last November. It is busy now trying to keep Plan E problems and prospects before the public. It is especially concerned to see that good candidates run for council and school committee. It expects to endorse those it believe

best qualified. . . . How well it succeeds depends on the size and civic zeal of its membership. That's why the membership campaign now begun deserves a big response."

LWV Grows

Membership in the **League of Women Voters of the U. S.**, Anna Lord Strauss, president, continues its growth, according to a report in *Function*:

"At the end of the fiscal year March 31, 1948, the membership of the league had risen to 83,000, or an increase of 77 per cent over 1946-47 and 68 per cent over 1944. This represents 630 local and provisional leagues organized in 43 states—an increase of 16 per cent over 1946-47. Most local leagues have from 50 to 200 members and are in towns and cities from 5,000 to 50,000 population. About 40 have less than 25 members and are in towns under 5,000. Only eighteen leagues have from 500 to 1000 members and only five have over 1000 members."

Publication sales rose from \$6,220 for 1939-40 and \$16,674 in 1944-45 to \$31,500 in 1947-48.

The **New York State League**, Mrs. Edmund M. Boyne, president, has devoted the September issue of its *Monthly News* to urging registration of voters and reciting registration and voting procedures.

"Problems of Constitutional Revision in Illinois" is the theme of a luncheon discussion for October 8, planned by the **League of Women Voters of Illinois**, Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president.

The *Georgia Voter* of the **Georgia League of Women Voters**, Miss Frances Blackmon and Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, editors, devoted a recent issue to information on candidates for the fall primaries as furnished by the candidates themselves.

The **Minnesota League's Articulate Voter**, Mrs. Lincoln Thomas, editor, discusses problems of organization. "In league work," it comments, "because of its largely voluntary nature and ever-changing personnel, good, basic organization is especially important. It must provide an ever-present structure into which the constant turnover of members with new or rotated responsibilities can channel their efforts with a minimum of confusion and maximum of efficiency."

* * *

New Civic Group Takes Stock

The two-months old **Dallas County Citizens Association**,¹ Louis Blaylock, chairman, lists the following accomplishments as reported in the *Dallas Morning News* of July 22:

"1. It has exerted enough influence to arouse real pressure from enemy interests attempting to cripple its goal of good government in the courthouse.

"2. It has impressed hundreds of citizens who want a cleaner county government—enough friends to form a solid core of representative taxpayers determined to foster better government.

"3. Its mere existence has had a surprising effect on both officeholders and candidates.

"4. It has been besieged with suggestions for needed reforms at the courthouse.

"5. It has won the approval and support of both *The Dallas News* and the *Times Herald*.

"6. Its membership has climbed slowly but steadily. This growth has been accomplished in the face of a campaign of intimidation, false rumors and persistent charges of partisanship."

¹See "Newspaper Editorial Bears Fruit," the REVIEW, June 1948, page 331.

Civic News in Brief

"Plant a council-manager tree in Manchester," says the September number of *Tax Topics, Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association*, John J. Gaines, executive secretary. Most of the issue is devoted to a discussion of the manager plan and its application to the city. . . .

A volunteer service to encourage more Toledo citizens to lend their efforts to civic activities has been suggested by Felix Gentile, executive secretary of the **Toledo Board of Community Relations**. Mr. Gentile believes that citizens might be glad to register their qualifications at a central service and be on call for active duty. "There are willing and able people," he commented, "but they are confined to their homes because of families or other reasons and unless we are able to provide them with free baby sitters and free assistance of other kinds we will be unable to employ their particular talents in local volunteer activities." . . .

Reports of local candidates to be voted on at the primary elections this fall have been issued by various groups including the **Detroit Citizens League**, Hale G. Knight, executive secretary, the **Seattle Municipal League**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, and the **Citizens Union of the City of New York**, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary. . . . The **Inglewood, California, Chamber of Commerce** recently helped sponsor a "Candidates' Night," with candidates for congressman, state assemblyman and county supervisor taking ten minutes to tell why he should be elected. . . .

The July issue of *City Club News* gives a resume, by President Robert Kohler, of the work of the **Milwaukee City Club**. Five committees led by Leo Tiefenthaler, civic secretary,

have carried on the civic activities of the club—city planning, county affairs, public education, public finance and civic council. The latter group consists primarily of the chairmen of the other civic committees. . . .

The **McMinn County Good Government League**, Edmund R. Lingerfelt, executive vice president, in its August *New Notes*, offers congratulations all around for the "splendid way in which the August 5 election was conducted"—to the board of election commissioners, party leaders and candidates and "to the public generally, who went to the polls in an orderly manner, waited as long as necessary to take their turn and cast their ballots with a smile for the candidates of their choice." The league is especially proud of the fact that the nonpartisan council ticket which it supported was elected to continue effective government administration under the new county manager charter.

The league's third series of annual community meetings are scheduled for October 11-16.

* * *

Civic Planning Efforts

"Fort Wayne has heart trouble," says the **Fort Wayne, Indiana, Civic Association** in its *News Letter*, Lee J. Ninde, editor. Conditions in the center of the city will affect all the population of the city, the association points out, depreciate the value of real estate, injure business, and "plant in the minds of our youth the idea that good community housekeeping isn't worth while. . . . Let's start at the heart." Other issues of the *News Letter* describe actions which must be taken to improve the physical aspects of the city.

An outline of its program is published by the **Louisville Area Development Association**, Kenneth P. Vinsel.

(Continued on page 512)

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Malta Parliament Elected by Hare System

Draft Constitution for Israel Provides P. R.

THE HARE system for the election of parliament, first adopted in 1922, has been retained by Malta's new constitution, reports the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain in its 1947-48 annual report, *The Will of All the People for Justice, Peace and Security*. The country is divided into eight divisions, each returning five members.

In seven of these divisions at the general elections of October 1947 three parties contested for seats—Labour, Nationalist (pro-Italian) and Democratic Action—usually with full tickets. In four divisions all three parties secured representation; in the other three the Labour and Nationalist parties only secured seats.

The election in the eighth division, the Island of Gozo, was of quite another character. Three of the five seats went to the Gozo party—a middle class group which has announced its intention of supporting the Labour government; two went to the Jones party, named for its leader.

Jones himself polled 3,378 first choices, nearly twice the necessary quota. His four colleagues secured 5, 8, 30 and 57 each. By far the greater number of Jones's surplus votes were marked with next choices for Camilleri, the candidate with 30 first-choice votes, who was therefore also elected.

Voting was overwhelmingly along party lines—some 97 per cent of the ballots being cast for party candidates. There was no lack of interest in personalities, however, for in most cases first-choice votes varied enormously between candidates within parties. The first woman ever elected to the Maltese parliament was one of four Labour candidates elected from division 2.

The election and Hare system count created much interest among the voters. Progress of the count was followed by large numbers of people over the radio and also in the street outside the hall where it was conducted.

Valid votes totaled 105,481, about 75 per cent of the eligible voters. Invalid ballots in the six divisions for which figures are available averaged 0.67 per cent—running from 0.52 to 0.79 per cent.

Figures for the election are reported by the British society as follows:

MALTA PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, October 1947

Party	First-choice Votes	No. of Seats
Labour	63,148 (59.87%)	24 (60.0%)
Nationalist	19,632 (18.62%)	7 (17.5%)
Democratic Action	13,409 (12.72%)	4 (10.0%)
Gozo party	5,485 (5.20%)	3 (7.5%)
Jones party	3,664 (3.48%)	2 (5.0%)
Independents	143 —	—
	105,481	40

P. R. in Israel's Draft Constitution

Prepared by Dr. Leo Kohn for study by a subcommittee of the Israel State Council, a draft constitution for that state calls for a unicameral legislature to be elected every four years by proportional representation.¹ The fixed quota is provided, each party securing as many deputies as it has quotas of 10,000 votes. The provision for P. R. is in accordance with a United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947.

Vote Off in New York, On in Beacon

The American Labor party did not file its petitions for a vote on the restoration of P. R. in New York City and the legal deadline is now passed. Consequently, the question will not come up this fall, much to the relief of the civic forces which favor P. R. but are convinced that a trial of the district plurality system adopted last year is both proper and necessary to secure a popular majority for readoption.

The Beacon, New York, city council voted on August 30 to accept the Beacon Taxpayers and Rentpayers Association's petition for a referendum on its P. R.—council-manager charter amendment and put the question on the ballot for a vote at the general election on November 2.

Widespread sentiment for a change was evidenced by the ease with which a large surplus of petitioners was signed up, but both major party organizations have come out in opposition. The one local newspaper, the *Beacon News*, is also opposed editorially but is giving good treatment to both sides in its news columns.

¹New York *Herald Tribune*, August 23.

The local Kiwanis Club has had talk in favor of the proposal by M. Hallett of this department, who drafted it for the local sponsors, and plans one in opposition by former Mayor Theodore Ornstein of Long Beach, who was ousted from power when a similar amendment was put into operation in his city. Councilwoman Edith P. Welty and newspaper editor Oxie Reichler of Yonkers, which has P. R.—manager government, helped to launch the movement with addresses earlier in the year.

British P. R. Society Reports on Activities

The Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, in its 1947-48 Annual Report, describes its activities in bringing P. R. to the attention of the British public.

During the past year the society conducted publicity campaigns and opinion canvassing in local districts at the time of by-elections. In Islington, for example, whose voters are badly misrepresented in Parliament the society held a poster display, distributed leaflets demonstrating how P. R. would give fair representation and furnished speakers for meetings of local groups. A house-to-house canvass in certain areas of the district produced 163 replies for P. R., 50 against and 40 with no opinion.

P. R. for Parliament?

The case for P. R. was also discussed in Parliament, particularly by Mr. Wilfrid Roberts and Lady Megan Lloyd George, although the amendments in favor of which these Liberal M. P.'s spoke failed to pass.

The society's report discusses in some detail the Representation of the People Bill, commenting in part:

"Both the government's Representation of the People Bill and the Conservative opposition's attitude to

the same failure to understand—to admit—what is involved in representation. The foundation of the is the reports of the boundary commissioners, which recommend numerous adjustments of constituency boundaries designed to make the electorate in each constituency 'as near the electoral quota as practicable consistent with the preservation of local unities.' That aim in itself is acceptable; what this society objects to is that those who are so anxious to make an M. P. for one part of the country represent as many people as an M. P. in another part of the country refuse to take any steps to make an M. P. for one party represent as many people as an M. P. of the other party.

Experiment Suggested

The government has yielded to those who consider it unfair that 15 electors in Bermondsey should have one M. P. and 82,675 in Battersea only one, but it remains unsatisfied that 29,000 Labour voters should have one M. P., while 10 Conservatives or 187,000 Liberals have only one. [The report here refers to the average number of votes per member of Parliament secured by the three leading parties in the 1945 general election.] . . .

On the committee stage, amendments with which we were concerned were directed to two possible open alternatives: the establishment of a limited number of experimental P. R. constituencies, to compensate for those of universities which the bill abolishes; and the use of P. R. for future elections of the London County Council in which the number of council members per constituency is to be increased from two to three.

Reported in this department last month.

P. R. for London Council

"Regarding the L. C. C. [London County Council] we were somewhat hopeful—the case being so clear, with ready made constituencies, in respect of which the only change needed is the method of marking the ballot paper, and where the present method (the block vote, with each elector having three votes) will so grossly exaggerate the advantage of the party having the support of the largest number, but not necessarily a majority, of those voting. In almost every L. C. C. constituency, the existing system gives the largest party every seat. In a case like West Lewisham, where in 1945 there were 10,000 Conservatives and 9,500 Labour voters, we can understand anyone accepting the position in which the 10,000 have one representative and the 9,500 none, but how can it be thought right that the larger party should have two representatives against the other's none (as at present), let alone three against none, as under this bill?"

The report mentions two instances of protest coming to public notice against the action of party committees preferring other candidates over the claims of aspirants with considerable popular following. Nominations in England are generally made by party committees or caucuses. The society points out that proportional representation by the single transferable vote would enable a rank-and-file candidate to contest the party organization candidate for the right to represent the party without any risk of having rival parties benefit by a split vote.

Opinion Poll Favors P. R. in Presidential Elections

A public opinion poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which George H. Gallup

is director, showed a 58 per cent response in favor of changing the method of electing the president of the United States so that each candidate would receive the same proportion of the electoral vote of each state that he gets in the popular vote. At present all electoral votes to which a state is entitled go to the candidate with most popular votes. Fifteen per cent preferred the status quo, 27 per cent had no opinion on the matter.

A constitutional amendment to initiate such a proposal was introduced by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas in the House and by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts in the Senate. It was reported out of committee in both houses but failed to come before either for a vote.¹

P. R. League Plans Annual Session

The Proportional Representation League's annual meeting at the Hotel Statler, Boston, announced in this department last month, will be held the morning of November 23 as one of several group sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government. Subject of the session will be education of the voter in the use and advantages of P. R. Boston is a particularly appropriate place for this year's meeting since there are now seven Massachusetts communities using the manager plan and P. R. and Boston itself is seriously considering such a charter under legislation made available earlier this year.

¹See this department for June 1948, page 334.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 508)

executive director, in *Planning for Louisville Area*. Matters considered include population, housing, sewer flood protection, water resource traffic and expressways, transportation, schools, parks and recreation, hospitals, smoke abatement, municipal revenue, etc.

"A Frontal Attack on the Housing Problem—Industrial, Business and Civic Leaders Join Forces," is the title of an article in the *Bulletin* of the **Cincinnati Development Committee of Cincinnati**.

The **Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia** reviews a report on activities for the first six months of the year, by Executive Director Samuel B. Zisman, in its *News Letter* for June. Two developments stressed are "greater emphasis on the technical approach to problems and the development of relationships with other groups for more effective effort."

* * *

Strictly Personal

The McMinn County, Tennessee Good Government League announced the resignation of its executive president, **Edmund R. Lingerfelt**, who has been with the organization since its inception in 1946. Mr. Lingerfelt will continue his activity in the work of the league and as a director of the Clearwater community.

The Citizens Union of the City of New York announces the election of **Newbold Morris**, New York City planning commissioner and former president of the New York City Council, and **William H. Davis**, patent attorney and former member of the New York Board of Transportation, as members of its executive committee.

County and Township . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Charleston County Adopts Manager Plan

Proposed Charter for Santa Clara Has Similar Provision

VOTERS of Charleston County, South Carolina, on September 14, adopted a county manager charter by a vote of three to one. On the ballot were three proposals as provided by the 1948 session of the legislature: Plan A, the only alternative offering a measure of home rule, providing for the county manager plan, with the transfer of considerable financial authority from the county's legislative delegation to the council and the county manager; Plan B, providing that actions of the council, which was given both legislative and administrative authority, be subject to approval of the state legislature; and the present system, under which full control of county business has been exercised by the county's legislative delegation. Support by a majority of those voting in the election was necessary for adoption.

Citizen organizations, particularly the Charleston County League of Women Voters, began an educational campaign for the manager plan while the reorganization act was still before the legislature. They were joined by the two local newspapers, the *Charleston Evening Post* and the *News and Courier*, both of which published strong editorials just prior to election day, radio stations, a majority of the county legislative delegation, leading businessmen and other groups. Handbills were passed out from door to door and the Charleston County Civic League published large newspaper ads

just before the election. These activities, plus widespread dissatisfaction with the present system, combined to carry the day for the manager system.

The new government will go into effect in January 1949 after an election for members of council in November.

Proposed Manager Charter for Santa Clara County Filed

A board of freeholders, elected in June to frame a new charter for Santa Clara County, California, has now filed its proposal with the county board of supervisors and the county clerk. The suggested charter, result of long preparation and several public hearings conducted by the board of freeholders, provides for the county manager plan. Various department heads, now elected, would be made appointive by the county manager. The charter is expected to be submitted to the voters at the November 2 election.

California Counties Study Charters

The League of Women Voters of San Mateo, California, is studying the San Mateo County charter in an effort to improve and strengthen some of its provisions. As previously reported in this section,¹ the officials of the city and county of San Francisco recently recommended that San Mateo, along with Marin and Alameda Counties, be annexed to San Francisco.

Citizens of Sonoma County are studying the manager plan with a view to its possible recommendation for their county.

¹See the REVIEW, June 1948, page 309.

Montgomery County Charter Still in Court

The case involving the proposed Montgomery County charter, which includes the manager plan, has been appealed to the Court of Appeals, highest court in Maryland. As previously reported in this section,¹ opponents of the home rule charter challenged its constitutionality in the courts on the ground that it provided for enactment of the budget at a time other than during the "legislative" month. The state constitution provides for such legislative month in the home rule article, and it was alleged that the county budget had to be enacted during that period.

Counsel for the defense maintained:

1. The court had no jurisdiction over the matter, since it involved proposed action rather than a duly enacted law;

2. The proposed charter fully met the specifications of the home rule article; and

3. If the budget provision was found to be unconstitutional, it was separable from the remainder of the charter.

The Montgomery County Circuit Court ruled that:

1. It had jurisdiction;

2. The charter did not comply fully with the home rule article; but

3. The budget provision was separable, and hence it had to be deleted from the charter before the referendum election.

The charter proponents made no attempt to appeal, since they lost only a minor and technical point and in reality had gained a victory. The charter opponents, whose sole objective has been not to ascertain its constitutionality but rather to prevent the referendum, therefore made an appeal. Charter proponents hope to

secure a decision early in October which would allow them sufficient time to secure a referendum vote at the November general elections.

County Home Rule Campaign in Washington State

The three proposed constitutional amendments affecting counties, including provision for county home rule, are being made the subject of an intensive campaign in the state of Washington preparatory to the November elections. The other two amendments relate to consolidation of Seattle and King County and removal of the restriction limiting election of county officials to not more than two successive terms.

The Seattle Municipal League has assigned one man full time to the campaign and has issued two leaflets entitled *Unshackling County Government* and *How Counties Can Get Home Rule*. It has also placed an argument in favor of home rule in the *Voters Handbook*, issued by the Secretary of State.

The State Grange and the League of Women Voters also are conducting campaigns for the county home rule amendment.

Baltimore County Considers Home Rule

A recent news report in *The Baltimore Sun* declares that there is growing interest in a new charter for Baltimore County. This county practically surrounds the city of Baltimore from which it was separated almost a century ago.

The *Sun* article comments: "The move toward a charter for Baltimore County is gaining such momentum that many countians believe that a charter commission may be called in 1950, when the county's quadrennial elections will be held.

"Those favoring a charter point t

¹See REVIEW, July 1948, page 400.

the growing perplexities of the country's metropolitan-area government as the main reason why a charter should be adopted.

"Neither the present county administration nor any of its predecessors has been enthusiastic about the charter idea. A charter was prepared and submitted to the voters in 1920, but was defeated. . . .

"A campaign for a charter, it was pointed out, would engender a renewed interest in county affairs, which is now lacking in many places in Baltimore County.

"Another advantage of a county charter, its advocates contend, would be the establishment of procedures to amend the basic county laws without having to the General Assembly for special legislation."

Trend to County Units in Education

The small, outmoded local school districts throughout the nation are undergoing sweeping reorganization and complete abolition in favor of larger units, sometimes embracing the entire county. Specific cases of school consolidation and the planning of such consolidations have been reported in this section.¹

School reorganization in Illinois in the past three years has cut the number of local school districts from 12,000 to 7,500. Previously, Illinois had more local school districts than any other state. Now it has more than 133 consolidated districts meeting the legal minima of 2000 persons and \$6,000,000 assessed valuation.

In Wisconsin, counties are creating special school committees to develop plans for reorganization at the request of the state legislature.

School reorganization efforts in Washington, Arkansas, Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, New York and West Virginia were covered in an intensive study recently completed by the National Commission on School District Reorganization. Ohio, Minnesota, New Mexico and Missouri are other states planning extensive school reorganization.

Recent Indiana legislation permits township trustees to organize the township school districts into county units. In Idaho, each county has been directed to organize its schools into effective, efficient units by 1950.

In the state of Washington, the number of school districts has been reduced from 1,400 to 670 since 1941, and plans for further reduction are in progress. Kansas eliminated almost one-third of the 8,000 districts which existed before a reorganization act passed in 1945. The redistricting process was stopped, however, when the law authorizing it was held unconstitutional by the state supreme court last year. The legislature passed a subsequent act validating the reorganized districts.

It is estimated that there are 103,000 local units of school administration in the United States. School authorities agree that the small districts organized before the days of modern transportation are uneconomical and inefficient today in view of the postwar boom in education and the "bumper crop" of babies born in the past few years.

Tennessee Local Government Finances Studied

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association has issued its twelfth annual survey of local government in that state.¹ Chapter I relates to the fi-

¹See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 333; July 1947, page 416; July 1948, page 400; September 1948, pages 460-461.

¹*County, City & Town Government*, Nashville, Tennessee, 1948, 101 pp. mimeographed.

nancial statistics of local government in Tennessee and discusses tax base, tax levies, collections, receipts and disbursements, and indebtedness of counties, cities and towns. Chapter II discusses the status of fiscal control in Tennessee local government. Chapter III consists of several editorials and articles reprinted from other states. Chapter IV presents the financial tables of counties, and Chapter V presents the financial tables of cities and towns.

The introduction of the report declares "the purposes of this twelfth annual report are to (1) present financial statistical data respecting each county, city and town for a fiscal year ending in 1947, and (2) analyze trends in local governmental finance by comparing 1947 and prior years' data."

There appears to be some decline in the rate of increase in values in county assessment. Tables indicate that the 1946 rate of increase shows a decline from that of 1945 and of preceding years. Property taxes also, although continuing to increase, were not increasing at as rapid a rate as formerly. The report concludes from these data that assessed and actual values of county property throughout Tennessee are near their peaks. The tax collections record remains excellent, but this "is probably due in large part to the prosperity generated by the war effort." The report observes that "many counties in the state do not maintain adequate budgetary, accounting and tax collection records."

Greatly increased receipts are noted. During the ten-year period from 1938 to 1947, county receipts increased 67 per cent. This has resulted primarily from: (1) increased tax rate, (2) better tax collections, and (3) considerable increase in state aid. In fact,

in 1947 approximately one-fourth of all local government receipts was in the form of state aid. In many small counties more than half the governmental receipts came from the state. This percentage probably will be even larger in the future since the distribution of sales tax revenues had not begun in the final year reported in the survey.

The downward trend in county indebtedness, noted through the year 1946, was sharply reversed in 1947. The gross debt increased in the last year by \$1,700,000. The report strongly advocates pay-as-you-go financing and adequate fiscal control through proper procedure of accounting, budgeting, financial reporting and auditing.

The financial trends of cities and towns resemble those of counties, and the report proposes similar remedies.

City-County Cooperation in the News

El Paso County, Texas, has agreed to share with the city of El Paso the cost of purchasing an X-ray machine for the city-county health unit.

Traverse County, Minnesota, attempted to construct and operate a jail jointly with a village in its boundaries, but the state attorney general ruled it had no statutory authority for such action.

Texas County "Scalped"

Yoakum County, Texas, found itself buying too many wolf scalps at \$3 each. It decided it was being "scalped" by residents of surrounding counties where the wolf bounties were only \$1.50 per scalp. It now will pay the bounty only when the scalps are brought in by its residents.

1947 Tax Collections Over 49 Billion

Federal Revenues Decline, State and Local Increase

TAX collections in 1947 for all levels of government in the United States came to \$49,600,000,000, reports the Bureau of the Census in its *Governmental Revenue in 1947*. This is an average of \$344 per person. Net federal collections accounted for three-quarters of the total, or \$257 per person; state governments receiving \$47 per capita and local units \$40. These figures represent net collections in the 1947 fiscal year after deduction of tax refunds.

Taxes accounted for 95 per cent of the \$52,100,000,000 total of governmental revenue in 1947, the report states, with fees and other miscellaneous charges and non-tax revenue amounting to \$2,500,000,000.

Federal government revenue has declined in the past two years, but state and local revenue has been rising, from \$12,400,000,000 in 1945 to \$13,200,000,000 in 1946 and a new high of \$15,300,000,000 in 1947. Total 1947 revenue of all governments was more than double the 1942 amount, federal revenue increasing by 179 per cent and state and local by 24 per cent.

Because of financial grants and tax-sharing as between the various levels of governments, each level finally has for its own direct spending an amount of money differing from the amount collected directly in taxes and charges. Considering such transfers, the federal government had 71 per cent of all revenue in 1947 "for its own purposes," the states 11 per cent and local governments 18 per cent.

Taxes on individual incomes pro-

vided more than a third of all 1947 revenue. A net total, excluding refunds, of \$18,300,000,000, or \$127 per person, was collected, \$17,800,000,000 by the federal government and the other half-billion principally by states.

Revenue from sales and gross receipts taxes and federal customs made up the second largest segment, totaling \$11,300,000,000 or \$79 per capita. This is an increase of 15 per cent over the previous year and of 99 per cent over the 1942 level.

Collections from corporation income taxes—primarily a federal revenue—dropped 26 per cent from 1946 to 1947. The 1947 net was \$9,100,000,000.

Property taxes continue to represent the largest single class of state and local revenue, yielding \$5,500,000,000 in 1947, 11 per cent more than in the previous year. All but a quarter-billion of this amount represented local revenue, the remainder being state tax collections. The federal government does not impose property taxes.

All other taxes together—social insurance, death and gift, and miscellaneous minor classes—accounted for 10 per cent of federal, state and local government revenue in 1947.

Soldiers' Bonuses up in November

Six states—Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota and Wisconsin—will hold referenda this fall on bonuses for World War II veterans. Pennsylvania will vote on the question in 1949. Total amount of payments proposed is \$1,200,000,000, reports the Tax Foundation in *Cash Bonuses for Veterans*.

Approval of all these measures would bring the total of bonuses for World War II veterans to \$2,800,000,000 in

seventeen states, as compared with \$400,000,000 provided in twenty states for the veterans of World War I.

Nine of the World War I bonus states have approved cash payments to the newer crop of veterans, while five others have referenda scheduled. Maine is the only state among those paying World War I bonuses which has finally rejected one for World War II veterans.

Wisconsin's \$200,000,000 bonus plan is the largest to be voted on this fall. A retail sales tax of 3 per cent is provided to finance payments.

Missouri's proposed \$160,000,000 bonus would be financed by raising the state sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. No bonds will be issued to pay the Missouri bonus. Payments are to be deferred until the state accumulates \$135,000,000 from the 1 per cent sales tax increase.

Indiana veterans will receive some \$120,000,000 if its bonus plan is adopted. The Indiana referendum this fall is not final but is being held to test public opinion for the 1949 legislature. Voters also will be asked their preference as to which of five ways to finance the bonus.

Minnesota's proposal calls for payments totaling \$100,000,000. Iowa's \$85,000,000 bonus, if approved, will be financed by a state property tax. Methods of financing proposed bonuses in several states are not being submitted to the voters.

The Pennsylvania bonus, to be voted on in 1949, would provide an estimated \$500,000,000 in bonus payments—more than any other state. New York has the most expensive plan now in effect, with \$400,000,000 being distributed. Interest payments on bonds, of course, push total bonus costs much higher.

Most recent bonus adoption was in North Dakota, where voters in June authorized \$27,000,000. Other states which have adopted World War II

bonuses are Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont.

Vermont was the first to authorize a bonus for recent vets—in 1942. So far it is the only state that has made the payments without finding it necessary to issue bonds.

Minnesota Grants Cost of Living Pay Boost

Some ten thousand state employees have been given cost of living pay increases under a new salary plan in Minnesota—the only state granting by law salary adjustments based on the cost of living index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The new plan operates automatically. When the cost of living goes up nine points during the year Minnesota employees will secure pay raises of as much as \$16 per month without having to wait for further legislative action. Adjustments are made annually on July 1.

This is the first year the automatic provision went into operation. Since the price index for Minnesota advanced from 148.2 to 166.2 during 1947, a "two step" increase was granted this summer, with highest raises amounting to \$32 per month.

Amount of the current round of raises is \$2,070,000. Lowest paid workers went from \$130 to \$140 per month; highest from \$751 to \$783 per month. These are cost of living increases only; merit raises being granted separately.

What happens when the cost of living index goes down instead of up? The plan specifies that automatic pay decreases are to be made on the same basis as increases—in proportion to changes in the cost of living index. Originally enacted in 1945, the plan underwent major revisions last year.

Although almost a score of cities have pay adjustment plans based on the cost of living index, Minnesota's

an is unique among the states. The first city plan was put into effect in St. Paul 26 years ago. When the cost of living decreased during the depression, the pay of St. Paul city employees was decreased proportionately.

Massachusetts Subsidizes Housing Units

Almost a hundred cities in Massachusetts have applied for aid under the state's new housing program of \$200,000,000, reports the National Association of Housing Officials. Provision is made for municipal construction and management of 20,000 low-rent units for veterans.

The cities may issue bonds for the cost of land assembly and construction, hiring private builders. These bonds will be guaranteed by \$200,000,000 in state credit. The state will pay for part of the construction costs. State subsidy is limited to \$5,000,000 a year for 25 years and to 2.5 per cent of development costs of any one project.

Localities must have housing authorities before they are eligible for state aid and their number has more than doubled as a result of the program. More than 60 of the 99 communities applying thus far have created their housing agencies since the program was inaugurated in May.

The amount of aid any city may get in credits is generally limited to 3 per cent of the municipal assessed valuation. On this basis, Boston may issue bonds up to \$48,000,000 and have them guaranteed 100 per cent by state credit. Cambridge's share of the credit totals about \$20,000,000. Other cities which have applied include Lawrence, Lynn, New Bedford, Rockport, Winthrop and Worcester.

Once a local authority has applied for aid, the state housing board, through which assistance is provided, surveys actual housing needs in the community. Then a careful estimate is made of costs for land, land improvements and construction and maintenance. The state board makes the final decision on how much credit is allocated each municipality.

The Massachusetts housing board is managing another housing program which has a potential of 10,000 units. Boston alone is building 1,700 dwellings under the latter program, which provides direct subsidy for five years by the state to cover 10 per cent of development costs. Local housing authorities may rent the dwellings for five years after which they must be sold.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 500)

federal government and for almost a third as many employees as all local governments combined.

The upward trend in state employment from 1947 to 1948 was shared by most of the 48 states, only five showing a reduction in number and only one a decrease in payrolls. Schools accounted for almost a third of all state employees in 1948; highways and hospitals each accounted for 16 per cent.

Governmental Purchasers Hold Convention

The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing will hold its third annual conference and products exhibit on October 17-20 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 470)

Hughes Led League at Crucial Period

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, eleventh chief justice of the United States and president of the National Municipal League during what was probably the League's most critical year, died August 27 at the age of 86.

Mr. Hughes was elected League president at the 25th annual meeting in Cleveland in December 1919. On April 1, 1920, Harold W. Dodds became the League's second secretary and in July headquarters were moved to New York from Philadelphia, where they had been maintained since 1894.

It was during Mr. Hughes' presidency that the National Short Ballot Organization was merged with the League and studies were begun which led to the issuance of a series of model laws and administrative systems which are credited with having had a profound effect on the improvement of the conduct of public affairs.

Mr. Hughes relinquished the presidency in 1921 when he was appointed secretary of state by President Harding.

Beard Served League for Many Years

CHARLES A. BEARD, historian and noted advocate of education to strengthen democracy, who died September 1, was closely associated with the National Municipal League for nearly half a century.

In addition to serving on the Council and as honorary vice president, Dr. Beard frequently functioned as one of the League's many volunteer experts in committees and in an editorial capacity. When the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was established in 1912, he was one of its five associate editors. Although he was always busy with his own voluminous writings, some of them in collaboration with his almost equally noted wife, Mary, Dr. Beard always found time to work through the League.

His last service to the organization was the writing of an article, "The League and the Future," for the November 1944 REVIEW which commemorated the League's 50th anniversary. In this article, Dr. Beard recalled that when, at what might be called the dawn of the study of political science, the League began the gathering of facts and experience, virtually nothing of the kind existed for the benefit of scholars and students.

Jones in U. S. Diplomatic Service

HOWARD P. JONES, former secretary of the League, has received a permanent appointment in the United States diplomatic service, it was announced recently. Former newspaperman and educator, Mr. Jones also has had a varied career in government. He was appointed to the New York State Civil Service Commission in 1939 and deputy state comptroller in 1943, serving until he was commissioned a major later that year. He was with American Military Government in England, the Low Countries, France and Germany during and after the war, rising to the rank of colonel before reverting to civilian status. He will continue for a time as U. S. Chief, Finance Group, Bipartite Control Office, Germany.

Newspaper Series on Manager Plan

A new series of 18 ready-made half column articles entitled "The Rise of the Manager Plan" was prepared in the League's office and offered free to 435 daily newspapers during July. The articles with their illustrative diagrams occupied the equivalent of two full newspaper pages. Acceptances thus far total 41 with circulation adding up to over a million.

A Few Thesis Ideas

Teachers and students are always looking for solid ideas to develop into thesis material. Here are a few subjects for studies that should be made in the neglected field of voters and elections:

Nonpartisan elections in American cities of 25,000 plus. Common now in smaller cities up to Detroit. Do the Democratic and Republican local machines really gain from intervention? Cite some specific cities and find the national trend.

Nominations by petition vs. the Canadian and British systems of nomination by deposit (e.g., British parliamentary candidates post £150 to get name on the ballot and forfeit it if they get less than 1/8th of the vote). Big petitions are notorious, frequently fraudulent, expensive, difficult for insurgent candidates and utterly meaningless in indicating backing of signers.

Literacy tests as qualification of voters. New York has them for first voters. Where else? What methods and what experience?

Independent candidates in state and local elections. Why so rarely successful? What conditions suppress insurgency?

Elective vs. appointive boards of education. Compare the experience.

Substitutes for elective coroners. In some jurisdictions the equivalents of coroners are now appointive, e.g., New York City, Massachusetts, etc. Elements of a model medical examiner law?

Initiative, statutory and constitutional. Objective appraisal of experiences since last published round-up of such data.

Representative Town Meetings in New England. How, when and where have they come into existence? How are they working?

Tammany Hall. Its internal structure of government, its official rules and its actual working and current sources of power.

Single-house legislature in Canadian provinces. Did it improve conditions? Compare with current conditions in remaining bicameral provincial legislatures.

Alternative methods of apportionment of legislative and congressional districts. Many states are in a bad way because legislatures neglect duty to reapportion. What other routes to fair apportionment have ever been devised or tried?

Democratic procedures in large trade unions. Some unions have self-renewing political machines which defy dislodgement and are protected by unworkable procedures parallel to political machines. What rules should government impose to protect members if regulation of unions should become public policy?

NOTE. All such projects should be checked in the library to be sure that prior publication does not make them superfluous.

Books in Review

Democracy—The Threshold of Freedom. By Harold F. Gosnell. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1948. vii, 316 pp. \$4.

Dr. Gosnell has provided here an orderly history of suffrage as it has broadened down the ages to its present somewhat incomplete state in America, followed by a history of representation. Completeness of coverage of such subjects compels the author to put down a great many facts that are matters of universal knowledge but he moves with serenity also through some controverted areas and we can be particularly grateful for the grace with which he disposes of some of Professor Hermens' odd interpretations of European experience with proportional representation.

Now, Dr. Gosnell, keep going! The people having been given the suffrage, what are they in practice doing with it. Why do they so often get into sticky messes called bossism, political machines and apathy? Where is the limit as to length of ballots, frequency of elections, obscurity of elective offices in terms of character or importance? What happens when the voters have no opinions to express? How have reforms in such matters fared? Granted that citizens, equipped with suffrage, sometimes perform magnificently in their own interests, why do they also often fail and wallow in a mire while their political masters look on in arrogant scorn? Explain Chicago and Philadelphia as compared with Glasgow and Ottawa in respect to the way suffrage and representation seem to work out! Take us across your threshold and expound the diversity of the results in another good book like this!

R. S. C.

A Twentieth-Century Congress. Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin. Foreword by Robert M. LaFollette. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947. xiv, 236 pp. \$3.

In 1946 Estes Kefauver and other members of Congress cracked through the conservatism of their fellow members and actually accomplished some important reforms in the antiquated procedure of that body. The results have been hailed as beneficent and ridiculed as inadequate, correctly in both cases.

The value of this book is in its readable exposition of the wealth of objective evidence turned up in the debates and researches which the vast effort at partial progress entailed. Mr. Kefauver and Dr. Levin have produced a real contribution with the temporary status of a classic. It will be unfortunate if, in spite of Mr. Kefauver's efforts to the contrary, the 1946 improvements be accepted with complacency as sufficient. Fortunately, one of the further steps, the abandonment of the functions of acting as municipal council for the District of Columbia seems near success. And fortunately too, Representative Kefauver has survived his encounters with Boss Crump of Tennessee and will be in Congress as a senator for six years more of valiant leadership in this matter.

R. S.

The Neighborhood Unit Plan—Spread and Acceptance. A Select Bibliography with Interpretive Comments. Compiled by James Dahlgren. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 91 pp. \$1.

Planning the Neighborhood. Report prepared by Anatole A. Solow and Ann Copperman; edited by Allan Twichell. Chicago 37, Public A

Administration Service, 1948. xii, 90 pp.

development which is gaining momentum among those seeking better communities in which to live is the idea of neighborhood planning. Mr. Dahir's bibliography "constitutes a rough measure of the extent to which this urban planning concept has been accepted." His listings, with comments, are grouped under a series of subjects: facts of city life, background of neighborhood unit plan, planners and the plan, the plan makes friends with faces obstacles, American plans and projects, the neighborhood unit plan.

Planning the Neighborhood is the title of three monographs on "standards for healthful housing" and deals with the physical aspects of the problem. It was prepared by the subcommittee on environmental standards (Frederick Adams, chairman) of the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. Discussed are basic requirements for selection: development of land, utilities and services; planning for residential facilities; provision of neighborhood community facilities; but for vehicular and pedestrian circulation; neighborhood density; and coordination of housing elements.

Municipalities and the Law in Action.

Record of Municipal Legal Experience in 1947 and Proceedings of 1947 Annual Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. (Eleventh Edition). Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1948. 327 pp. \$10.

This 1948 edition sets forth in one volume the legal experience of cities during 1947. Its information brings up to date all municipal legal developments previously reported. In-

cluded are discussions on problems of revision and codification of city charters and ordinances, the "tidelands" decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, radio broadcasting and municipalities, the so-called Rizley bill dealing with natural gas pipeline companies, municipal revenues, etc.

The volume includes the complete texts of reports of the sixteen NIMLO committees studying various phases of municipal legal endeavor as well as the panel discussions at the institute's 1947 conference.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Bonds

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York 4, The Bond Dealer, 1948. 430 pp. 50 cents.

Civil Liberties

Civil Liberties in New Jersey. A Report Submitted to The Honorable Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey, by the Committee on Civil Liberties. Trenton, Governor's Office, 1948. 33 pp.

Cooperatives

Cooperatives. By Robert Kramer, Charles E. Nieman, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Summer 1948. 161 pp. \$1.

Industry

What Does Industry Expect of a Community? By H. Y. Bassett. University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1948. 19 pp.

Population Statistics

Estimates of the Population of Continental United States 1940 to 1948. **Estimates of the Population of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone,**

and the Virgin Islands 1940 to 1947. **Estimates of the Population of the United States by Regions, Divisions and States July 1, 1940, to 1947.** Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 4, 2 and 10 pp. respectively.

Public Health

Public Health Engineering. A Text-book of the Principles of Environmental Sanitation. (Volume I: Part One—The Air Contact; Part Two—The Water Contact.) By Earle B. Phelps. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1948. ix, 655 pp. \$7.50.

Public Safety

Accident Facts 1948. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1948. 96 pp. 50 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety promotion for October. Theme: Night Driving. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1948. Variously paged.

Public Welfare

Public Assistance. A report to the Senate Committee on Finance from the Advisory Council on Social Security. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 43 pp.

Surety Bonds

The Public Official and His Surety Bond. New York, The Surety Association of America, 1948. 14 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Tax Legislation in 1946, 1947 and 1948. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, June-July 1948. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Revenue in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Long-Term Financial Planning. Based on a paper by Martin P. Jones. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1948. 4 pp. 35 cents.

1948 Conference Issue. By Eric Kohler, A. E. Buck, Jr., etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, *Municipal Finance*, August 1948. 64 pp. 50 cents.

The Picture of State and Local Debt. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, May 1948. 12 pp. 25 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1948. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 10 pp.

Trouble Spots in Taxation. Essays in the Philosophy of Taxation and Other Public Finance Problems. By Harold M. Groves. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1948. 105 pp. \$2.

Year Book 1948, Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers. London, S. W. 1, the association, 1948. 86 pp.

Traffic

The Legal Responsibilities of Traffic Agencies. By C. H. Belser. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1948. 64 pp.

Thoroughfares for Greensboro. Greensboro, North Carolina, Department of Planning, 1948. 12 pp. illus. 50 cents.

Traffic and Housing. By Leslie Williams. New York 17, American Transit Association, 1948. 7 pp.

Traffic Survey Peoria, Illinois—Report and Recommendations. By J. Carrothers. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1948. 62 pp.

Transit

Current Status of the Chicago Transit Authority. By Walter J. McCart. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York). New York, the Forum, 1948. 16 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders, apply to Monroe Poole, 37 Wall Street, New York.)